

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex LIBRIS
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE IRISH POLICY OF THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY, 1868-1874

by

SANDY MACPHERSON PEMBERTON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

AUGUST 15TH, 1966.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "THE IRISH POLICY OF THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY, 1868 - 1874" submitted by SANDY MACPHERSON PEMBERTON in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
CHAPTERS	
I Ireland: Problem and Policy	1
II The Parliamentary Struggle	27
III Some Reactions	57
IV Towards Home Rule	90
V Assessment.....	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY	127

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine and analyse the circumstances surrounding the Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874, with a consideration of the difficulties encountered, and an estimate of its success.

The English dominated the Irish for a long time. The resources of the Irish state were exploited by the British ruling classes. The English Anglican Protestant aristocracy took advantage of Irish revenue; the powers dominating the Irish Government showed little interest in the well-being of the Roman Catholic majority of the Irish people. The Irish Anglican Church Establishment, the land system geared for the benefit of the landlords, and the absence of equal educational opportunities for Irish Catholics, were among the chief causes of Irish complaint. As the Irish sought relief, Anglo-Irish relations became ever more strained, and great problems developed. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Irish question became a critical problem in English politics, shaking the foundations of both Liberal and Conservative parties alike.

The first Gladstone ministry, in attempting to find a solution to the Irish problem, was faced with a very complicated task. There were many obstacles to overcome; Anglican Protestants, Irish Roman Catholics, landlords and peasants

must all be satisfied. From 1867, after Gladstone's announcement that he sought a solution to the problems of Ireland, a new chapter in the relations of the two islands began. The ministry touched nerves of the greatest sensitivity when it pledged itself to deal with Church, land, and university education. The results of Gladstone's efforts to settle these matters were not wholly satisfactory.

This thesis does not claim to exhaust every aspect of the Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry. It does attempt to deal adequately with the main issues involved: to make it clear that immense difficulties, seen and unseen, lay in the path of a solution to the Irish problem, and that any evaluation of the government's accomplishments must be made with a full knowledge of these difficulties. Despite failures and shortcomings, the Irish policy of Gladstone's first Government deserves vindication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful for the Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarship which I received in May, 1965. This award made it possible for me to devote full time study to this project. I have also to express my grateful acknowledgement to Dr. B. Heeney for his patience with me as well as for his kindly and helpful advice from time to time. I am also indebted to all those in the library, particularly in the reference department, who have assisted me in my research.

I am thankful, too, for the co-operation and encouragement which I received from the Department of History, and for a general interest in my work for which I can hardly express full appreciation.

CHAPTER I

IRELAND: PROBLEM AND POLICY

On 1 December, 1868, when Mr. Gladstone received his mandate from Queen Victoria to form a new Government, he was felling a tree at Hawarden. Mr. Evelyn Ashley, who was with him, told the dramatic story, how the blows ceased almost immediately and Mr. Gladstone rested on the handle of his axe; then, looking up, with an intense look on his face, exclaimed in a voice of deep earnestness, "My mission is to pacify Ireland."¹ Mr. Gladstone thus gladly welcomed the opportunity to lead his first Government in an endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the Irish. Earlier, on 19 December, 1867, he was moved by the Fenian explosions at Clerkenwell on 13 December, 1867, and had proclaimed an Irish policy which he hoped would satisfy the Irish. This policy aimed at destroying three evils which Mr. Gladstone often referred to as the three branches of the Upas Tree:² religious inequality, the irregular land system, and unequal opportunities for higher education in Ireland.

¹John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1922). I, 886.

²Gladstone used the expression "Upas Tree" figuratively. The tree signified poison and was said to destroy all animal life within a radius of fifteen miles or more.

In order to understand what prompted Gladstone to declare such a policy, it is necessary to consider his sympathy for the suffering Irish people and his understanding and interpretation of the Fenian outrages. It would be of interest, too, to trace any degree of interest he exhibited in the Irish problem prior to 1868.

The Fenian explosion at Clerkenwell prison on 13 December, 1867, made a great impact on Mr. Gladstone and hastened the proclamation of his policy for Ireland. The Fenian Brotherhood or Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood was established in America in 1858 by O'Mahony, an Irish Revolutionist. They took their names from the ancient warriors of Ireland and set out to procure by terror and force what the peaceful agitators had failed to obtain. Fenianism was designed to secure the independence of Ireland at any cost rather than to better agrarian conditions. The Fenians believed that force was the only effective weapon for overthrowing English rule and establishing the Irish Republic. The English greatly criticised their programme of "Ireland a Nation" completely independent of Great Britain. The leaders of the Fenian movement were intellectuals, but the followers were almost exclusively composed of the most active young men of the lower classes in town and country. Their violent activities brought about a number of repressive statutes in the 1850's: the Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts of 1849 and 1850; the Crime and Outrage Acts of 1851, 1856, 1858 and 1860; and the Unlawful Oaths Acts of 1853, 1854 and 1855. "The importance of Fenianism in Irish history,"

wrote Eric Strauss, "and the course of Anglo-Irish relations lies in its treatment of the whole existing fabric of English rule in Ireland as a hostile external force."³

But the Catholic Church, to which most of the Fenians belonged, refused to encourage Fenianism as it seemed to gain momentum in the early 1860's. The clergy withheld their support unless they were convinced that the church would benefit from the agitation. Moreover, the bishops held fast to the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church against all forms of rebellion. Perhaps the ineffectiveness of Fenianism was due, in part, to the fact that a great portion of the political warfare of the Fenians was constantly directed against the priests' political power. The Fenians considered the priests their real enemies. For the priests did not fail to accuse them publicly before the authorities.

Fenianism lacked tangible success. The so-called Fenian rising of 1867 was a complete disaster. Yet Fenianism had not totally failed. Its underground influence continued to be felt more and more, and indirectly, therefore, it was bound to remain a disquieting feature. The Fenian amnesty movement was a great revelation of the deep sympathy which was felt for the few uncompromising and self-sacrificing Fenians. And very interestingly, it was the Fenian outrage, at Clerkenwell, which commanded the attention of Gladstone, bringing forth speedily his Irish policy which was to aim at satisfying the Catholic bishops who had condemned

³Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), pp. 144-145.

Fenianism.

The chief causes of discontent in Ireland were the existence of the Established Anglican Church, the land grievances, and dissatisfaction with the system of education. The Irish Catholics looked upon the Establishment as a symbol of conquest and degradation, and complained that it offended the religious sentiment of the country. They therefore wished to see it come to an end. Demands for remedying the land problem also grew apace. Tenants desired security for their improvements and protection against other hardships imposed by the landlord. And many longed to see an improvement in the system of University Education whereby Catholics would have an equal chance to benefit from higher learning.

These major elements in the unhappy condition of the Irish were aggravated by other undesired circumstances which produced a sense of general insecurity and fear. Mr. Maguire, one of the members for Cork, pointed to these at the Session on 16 March, 1868. The honourable member observed that it was idle to deny that the condition of Ireland was such as to cause anxiety and alarm. Even liberty was at stake. Mr. Maguire explained:

The country was now occupied by an army, men of war were in her harbours and gunboats on her inland waters while armed cruisers guarded her shores from transatlantic invaders. The liberty of the British subject was suspended, and the liberty of individuals depended upon the whisper of a spy, the suspicion of a policeman, the swearing of a perjurer or the folly or stupidity of an official of the crown. The recollection of the penal laws embittered the spirit of men whose fathers suffered from them.⁴

⁴The Annual Register, 1868, English History, pp. 46 - 47.

He then appealed for wise legislation to reverse this situation and begin a new page in the history of Ireland. In this, Mr. Maguire saw the possibility of conciliation of all classes of people, the end of Fenianism, and the establishment of the "foundation of a state of things which would redeem a nation and save the empire."⁵

This situation convinced Gladstone that Ireland should be given immediate attention. He studied The Report of the Royal Commission on the Church in Ireland which was released just before the General Election of 1868. This commission was set up to consider the re-arrangement of temporalities. The Report failed to satisfy Gladstone who joined the Catholics and Protestant Dissenters in opposition to "internal reform," i.e. opposition to a mere re-arrangement of the incomes of incumbents among other things. But the Church Commissioners' Report must have served to impress Gladstone with the urgency of the Irish situation. He carefully scrutinized the recommendations made. One of the recommendations was that there be "a further consolidation of Dioceses and a reduction in the number of and (with one exception) in the incomes of the Bishops" as well as "a corresponding reduction in the number of Cathedral establishments, so that they shall not exceed the number of Bishoprics."⁶ Perhaps this statement showed him that after all, even the Ecclesiastical

⁵Ibid., p. 48.

⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XXIV (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. IX), 4082, July, 1868, "Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church in Ireland," p. 20.

Commissioners had admitted that all was not well with the Established Anglican Church. Another recommendation that "for the purposes of a more effective management of Church property, the constitution of the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners be improved and its power be enlarged,"⁷ might have made him think that the Anglican Establishment was determined to maintain itself in Ireland. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Gladstone quickly set aside the Irish Church Commissioners' Report as irrelevant, bluntly observing that the Commissioners had undertaken to reform "that which is irreformable."⁸

The Report of the Devon Commission on Law and Practice in Respect of the Occupation of Land in Ireland, 14 February, 1845, also helped to influence Gladstone's decision to do something for Ireland. The recommendation of that commission seemed to impress him very much, and at the session in 1868, he asserted that "the real grievance of the Irish people had been acknowledged by the Devon Commission, which had recommended compensation for improvements."⁹ The Devon Commission had reported that improvements in very nearly all cases were made by the tenant; that systematic practice of progressive rent increases resulted in large confiscations of these improvements; that the system was the root of much crime and disorder; and that parliament

⁷Ibid., p. 21.

⁸Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCV (1869), 2114.

⁹The Annual Register, 1868, English History, p. 58.

should intervene. The Commission further stated that the tenant might wish to expend capital on the land, if he could only be assured of an adequate return for his expenditure on the farm during his tenure, or have some guarantee of reasonable compensation for his outlay when he left the farm.¹⁰

It should be noted, however, that Gladstone did not always show a keen desire to champion the cause of the Irish. His attitude in the Commons' Debates in the 1850's and early 1860's hardly convinced anyone that he was particularly interested in redressing the wrongs of Ireland. In 1853, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he imposed on the Irish the Income Tax which Peel had withheld a decade before, and this the Irish members remembered quite well. His speeches on Irish social conditions revealed a lack of any real desire to help the Irish. On 12 June, 1863, during a debate in the Commons on the condition of Ireland, Gladstone said:

If it be true that Irish landlords reside less on their estates than the landlords of Scotland, or Yorkshire or Devonshire, that may be a circumstance to be much regretted, but I do not believe there is any way in which this House can address itself to the cure of so serious an evil. I know of no way in which this House can address itself to correct that evil except by endeavouring to do everything in its power to improve the social and economic condition of Ireland.¹¹

¹⁰Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XIX (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. VI), [605], February, 1845, "Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland," p. 17.

¹¹Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLXXI (1863), 826-827.

Nor was this lack of interest less conspicuous in his attitude towards Catholic complaints against the Established Anglican Church. The House of Commons debated the Anglican Church Establishment in Ireland on 28 March, 1865. At that time, Gladstone refused to admit the charges that were laid against the Anglican Church, stating vigorously that "it is my belief that the Irish [Anglican] Church is free from such abuses."¹² He then declared:

The motion before the House may be divided into two propositions - first, that in the opinion of the House, the present position of the Irish [Anglican] Church Establishment is unsatisfactory; and secondly, that it calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government. . . . For my part I confess that I cannot refuse to admit the truth of the first . . . of these propositions. . . . With regard to the second, I think that I am not only not required by the fulfilment of my duty, but that it would be a departure from duty on the part of Her Majesty's Government if they were to assent to the Motion.¹³

Surely this was not the kind of reaction expected from the man who was later to devote much of his time and energy to the Irish cause. Yet by 1868, John Bright remarked that Gladstone's celebrated phrase "an absentee aristocracy and an alien Church,"¹⁴ as being at the heart of Irish dissatisfaction, showed that his attitude toward their unhappy condition had changed.

A close examination of Gladstone's seeming lack of interest in Irish affairs during the 1850's and early 1860's would reveal that his attitude toward Ireland was not as

¹²Ibid., CLXXVIII (1865), 419.

¹³Ibid., 422.

¹⁴The Annual Register, 1868, English History, p. 54.

inconsistent as it might appear. For as he traveled on the continent in 1845, he held conversations with European statesmen and was quite moved by their views of the English treatment of Ireland. One of his letters to Mrs. Gladstone on the eve of his return from Germany shows his deep concern for Ireland. With great feeling he wrote:

Ireland! Ireland! that cloud in the west, that coming storm, the minister of God's retribution upon cruel and inveterate and but half-atoned injustice! Ireland forces upon us those great social and great religious questions - God grant that we may have courage to look them in the face, and to work through them.¹⁵

Deep in the heart of the man, therefore, lay great sympathy for Ireland, but this was stifled for a while, possibly for at least two reasons. Firstly, Gladstone was himself a devout and sincere Churchman. He loved the Church. At the same time he wanted to do justice to Ireland. His mind, therefore, seemed somewhat divided on church matters. Thus Morley speaks of "that division of sensibility between the demands of spiritual and of secular life"¹⁶ which showed itself in his actions in the 1850's and early 1860's. One can readily perceive this conflict in the mind of Gladstone from a letter he wrote on 6 March, 1846, to Edward Manning, then Anglican Archdeacon of Chichester:

I have not arrived at any set form of opinion concerning the Irish Church. The question that pursues me is this: Can social justice, which of course varies in its form and application according to the conditions of political society, warrant the permanent maintenance of the Irish Church as it is? I have not yet been able to find the grounds for an affirmative

¹⁵John Morley, op. cit., I, 383.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 81.

answer, but it is only right that I should not conclude in the negative till the whole time left me for consideration shall have elapsed.¹⁷

Secondly, it would appear that the politics between 1845 and 1865 did, to some extent, divert Gladstone's attention from the problems of Ireland. Of this, J. L. Hammond stated:

Between 1845 and 1865 public affairs provided ample occupation for his energy and feeling, with the Crimean War, the China War, the Italian Revolution, the French panics, the Cobden Treaty, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Gladstone took an eager part in all those debates and in addition he went to the Ionian Islands as Commissioner in 1858. Thus the events of those years kept his European sense occupied and excited. On the Italian question which was perhaps the closest to his heart, the Irish and he were in sharp conflict.¹⁸

When the time came, however, both factors gave way to the appeal to social justice which decided the question, and Gladstone made the Irish problem the most important task of his life. He rallied his cabinet to this cause in 1868.

On assuming power in 1868, the First Gladstone Ministry took careful note of the failure of the Disraeli Ministry to effect a solution to the Irish problem. Irish affairs constituted the main theme of the first two cabinet meetings of the Disraeli Ministry (2 and 3 March, 1868), but no consistent Irish policy emerged. During the debate on Irish grievances, the suggestion by Lord Mayo, Chief Secretary for Ireland, that all churches in Ireland be endowed, caused much

¹⁷D. C. Lathbury, Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone (London: John Murray, 1910), I, 149-150.

¹⁸J. L. Hammond, Gladstone and the Irish Nation (London: Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 70.

disagreement on the Church question. An ineffective measure aimed at solving the land problem met universal disapproval. Lord Mayo also presented a scheme for granting a charter to an Irish Catholic University. The Disraeli Cabinet insisted, however, that there should be a lay majority on its governing body. Great fear was expressed that the Irish hierarchy would not accept this and the scheme perished. The Liberals were therefore prepared to fill the breach left by the Conservatives.

Disraeli's Irish policy has been defended by George Earle Buckle, however, as one of "firm administration, patience, and conciliation."¹⁹ The Disraeli Government had proposed the establishment of an institution in Dublin, which would be to Catholics what Trinity College was to the Protestants. The Irish Bishops rejected this idea. Buckle thought that this was a great blow to the Disraeli Government and admitted that "the facts and dates suggest that the Roman Catholic authorities were diverted from adhering to Disraeli's programme by Gladstone's superior bid [for disestablishment]."²⁰ He further stated that "it is difficult not to connect the extremist attitude of the Irish negotiators with the development of Gladstone's policy of disestablishment."²¹ This seems to be true inasmuch as the Bishops' preliminary reply to Disraeli's plan of March, 1868, came only three days after Gladstone had declared that the Irish Anglican Church "as a State Church, must cease to exist."²²

¹⁹William Monypenny and George Earle Buckle, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (London: John Murray, 1920), IV, 575.

²⁰Ibid., V, 10.

²¹Ibid., 9.

²²Morley, op. cit., I, 879.

The Irish Anglican Church Establishment seemed to be at the heart of the Irish problem. Edward Manning, then Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, expressed this when he wrote to Gladstone on 28 March, 1868:

The Irish Establishment is a great wrong. It is the cause of division in Ireland, of alienation between Ireland and England. It embitters every other question. Even the land question is exasperated by it. The fatal ascendancy of race over race is unspeakably aggravated by the ascendancy of religion over religion.²³

Gladstone therefore decided to make the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Anglican Establishment the first step in the execution of his Irish policy. He had himself envisioned the great importance of disestablishment. In his first election address in Southwest Lancashire in 1868, he said:

In the removal of this Establishment, I see the discharge of a debt of civil justice, the disappearance of a national, almost a world-wide reproach, a condition indispensable to the success of every effort to secure the peace and contentment of that country.²⁴

Indeed, it would appear that not only Liberals and Conservatives alike, but some of the very bishops of the Irish Anglican Church Establishment looked upon it as the one grievance underlying all others, representing to the world the injustice Ireland received at the hands of England.

But while the Gladstone Ministry hoped for great support from many quarters, particularly from the English

²³Ibid., 880.

²⁴H. J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1959), pp. 204-205.

Nonconformists and Roman Catholics who gladly welcomed disestablishment, he also envisioned some difficulty and opposition. Late in 1868, Mr. Gladstone invited the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Trench, as well as other leading members of the Anglican hierarchy in Ireland to come to London to discuss the disestablishment and disendowment of their Church. He was greatly disappointed to learn, however, that many of these same Church Leaders had denounced him at diocesan conferences in Ireland as a "brigand and enemy of God."²⁵ Hence in announcing this part of their Irish policy, Gladstone and the Liberals seemed to visualize the tremendous significance of disestablishment, the amount of support that could be expected as well as some obstacles to overcome. By severing the formal legal ties of the Irish Anglican Church from its sister Church in England, and by destroying the connection between Church and State, the Liberals hoped to usher in a new era of religious equality and civil justice. But this would not go unchallenged.

As the Catholics agitated in support of Gladstone's Irish policy on the Church question, supporters of the Irish Anglican Church Establishment launched the Protestant Defence Association in opposition to that policy. The Irish Catholic laity, aroused by the activities of this association issued a declaration "to contradict publicly the assertion that we do not feel aggrieved by the present Ecclesiastical

²⁵Philip Magnus, Gladstone: A Biography (London: John Murray, 1954), p. 198.

settlement of Ireland."²⁶ The names attached to the Declaration included those of peers, Privy-Councillors, Deputy-Lieutenants, and MP's as well as all the Catholic members of the Bar. The Times stated that the Declaration presented "a formidable muster-roll against the hosts of the 'Central Protestant Defence Association'."²⁷

The "no-Popery" cry was sounded. Disraeli himself supported by many others was an instigator in this. In a speech delivered in the House on 3 April, 1868, Disraeli said, "High Church Ritualists and the Irish followers of the Pope had long been in secret combination and are now in open confederacy."²⁸ William Murphy and his followers intensified their attacks on the Catholics in the wake of the announcement of the Irish policy of the Liberals. Disraeli was even accused by the Nonconformists of being a party to Murphy's excesses. The Queen, whose later co-operation was very helpful in bringing about disestablishment, did not show at first any great enthusiasm for Gladstone's Irish policy. In fact, Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, told Gladstone that the Queen did not like his Irish Church policy and had only not said so openly because she considered herself pledged to the principle before Parliament and the nation.²⁹

²⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. LIII (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV), (161), March, 1868, "Declaration of the Roman Catholic Laity of Ireland," p. 75.

²⁷The Times, 20 February, 1868, p. 12.

²⁸Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCI (1868), 924.

²⁹Philip Magnus, op. cit., p. 194.

Her Majesty's early objection to disestablishment was seen in her refusal to appoint a Disestablisher to fill a vacant bishopric at Hereford.³⁰ Opposition from the landed interests also became evident as the Irish policy was proclaimed.

It is important to note that the Catholics were the ones who suffered most in Ireland. This is readily perceived in a general way when it is realized that about three-fourths of the Irish people were Roman Catholics. The Irish Anglican Church Establishment inflicted many wrongs on the Irish Catholics. University Education was geared to the disadvantage of the Catholics, Trinity College in Dublin being a Protestant institution. The land problem, too, revealed that Catholics were the main sufferers. Catholics were prohibited from buying land or leasing it for more than thirty years up to the late eighteenth century. Hence, the Catholics, with few exceptions were the poorer, the less educated and qualified, and owned little or no land.

It is for this reason that the role of the Catholic hierarchy is significant. It pressed the claims of Catholic Ireland not only for improvement in ecclesiastical matters, but for the betterment of conditions on a whole. The Catholic hierarchy had been agitating in Ireland for at least one decade before Gladstone announced his Irish policy, and the constitutional movement which it directed soon fitted into the pattern of Gladstonian Liberalism. The Catholic movement

³⁰ Frank Hardie, The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901 (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 134.

was a powerful factor in the sectional alliances which had their foundation in the early 1860's and which amalgamated in the Liberal party under Gladstone in 1868. It is true that pressure from the Catholic hierarchy for reform did not succeed in forcing the Gladstone Government into action. Yet, it must be conceded, that when the Government declared for reform in Ireland, it moved along the lines suggested by the Catholic bishops.

Gladstone had named the land as second in order of importance among the three main problems in Ireland. But, many held that the land question lay at the root of Irish misery. John Bright, M. P. for Birmingham and President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's Cabinet, expressed this view in a letter to Gladstone on 24 May, 1869:

When the Irish Church question is out of the way, we shall find all Ireland, north and south alike, united in demanding something on the land question much broader than anything hitherto offered or proposed in compensation.³¹

In 1864, Cardinal Cullen, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, referred to the land question as "one surrounded by inextricable difficulties," and whose settlement is "one of vital importance to the country."³² In the same year, Dr. Keane, the Bishop of Cloyne, described the land question as the "question of questions". This remark, which was quoted and applauded in Sir John Gray's Freeman Leader, hinted that the land question was even more fundamental than the insults

³¹ John Morley, op. cit., I, 916.

³² E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859-1873 (London: Longmans, 1965), p. 144.

of the Establishment or the dangers of a mixed education.³³

At the time he first declared his Irish policy, Gladstone did not seem to realize the full scope of the land problem. Apparently, Bright was aware of this and in a letter to Gladstone on 21, May, 1869, he stated: "I have studied the Irish land question from a point of view . . . which possibly even you have not had the opportunity of regarding it."³⁴ But Gladstone stuck to his conviction that the problems involved in the land question could not be nearly as challenging as those pertaining to the Church question. It was not until 1870 that he was forced to reconsider such a view. For the Irish, taking advantage of Gladstone's liberal promise to grant their requests, made such demands that the full implications and seriousness of the land question revealed themselves.

It was one thing to declare that something should be done about the land problem, but it was another thing for the Liberals to agree among themselves just how the problem should be approached. Bright suggested Land Purchase as the remedy, i.e., that the State should purchase the land from the landholders and redistribute it.³⁵ But Gladstone disagreed, pointing out that even if the State should purchase all the land and resell it, the sheer bulk of the land together with

³³Ibid., p. 149, with reference to Freeman, 30 December, 1864.

³⁴John Morley, loc. cit.

³⁵G. M. Trevelyan, The Life of John Bright (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1925), p. 410.

the force of economic laws would soon cause the land to return to few hands. Moreover, there was the question of how the State would get back the huge sum of money it would spend in buying out the landlord. Others, including Lord Granville, Colonial Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet, also disagreed with Bright's proposal. In a letter to Mr. Gladstone on 26 May, 1869, Lord Granville hinted that the disagreement seemed to threaten the existence of the Liberal party:

By Bright's plan not only would the State assume the responsibilities to the tax payer of a great land jobbing speculation, but it would place itself in the odious position of a landlord exacting more than average rent from the whole population. This question may break us up.³⁶

Gladstone gradually became aware of the immense importance of the land question and the great task ahead of his ministry. He wrote to Lord Granville on 8 September, 1869, stating that "the Irish land question is assuming an aspect of greater difficulty. . . . I understand that a great part of the Conservative press calls for large concessions."³⁷ Fortunately for Gladstone and his ministry, there was final general agreement on the suggestion to embody the custom of Ulster Tenant Right in a law for all Ireland. The Ulster Tenant Right gave the tenant the right to sell his interest in his farm. Although the suggestion was made by Gladstone to his party at this time, the idea of adapting the law to

³⁶The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876, ed. Agatha Ramm (2 vols.: London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1952), I, 23.

³⁷Ibid., p. 53.

custom had its foundation in Ireland. Such an agreement among the Liberals was an absolute necessity as the importance and significance of the land question assumed larger and larger proportions.

Irish University Education was the third problem to which Gladstone's Irish policy was directed. But certainly it was going to be more difficult to disestablish education than to disestablish the Church. The two Irish Universities were quite distinguished from the Church in their history as well as their position. The University of Dublin was quite unlike any other institution in Ireland. It did not come under State control even though it was established by the State. Uniquely, it enjoyed a life of its own. It had not been affected to any considerable degree by the influences that had damaged the work of the Church or upset the landlord-tenant relationship. Yet education had to be given attention. Gladstone was mindful of the activities of the National Association which was founded by the Irish Catholic Bishops in 1865. Although this association was originally formed to consider only the Church and Land questions, it eventually decided to include education in its list of the main problems in Ireland.³⁸

Gladstone and the Liberals were convinced by the proposed Charter of the new Catholic University of 1868 that the Catholics were dissatisfied with education in the Queen's colleges. The Catholic bishops insisted on a Charter which

³⁸E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 195.

would deny the State any interference in the internal matters of the desired Catholic University. Archbishop Cullen was to be the first Chancellor. Provision was to be made in the constitution to exempt any Protestants who might be enrolled as students from attendances at Catholic observances. The Charter scheme failed, but the Catholics through it made their intentions quite clear. The Disraeli Government had failed to satisfy Catholic requirements. The Charter experience had given the Liberals a glimpse of the seriousness of the university education question which would confront them sooner or later. They realized the dangerous situation which would arise if Catholic demands were neglected. It is important to observe that from this point on, the Gladstonian Liberals gave serious consideration to converting the University of Dublin into a truly national university.

The disagreement by the Liberals with the Mayo plan for endowing a Catholic university out of State funds was, from the start, portentous of the difficulties that lay in the path of a peaceful settlement of the University education question. Gladstone disapproved of the Mayo plan on the grounds that it carried within it the seeds of denominationalism and endowment. In this he revealed the direction in which his policy for Irish University Education would move. Gladstone and the Liberals insisted that the goal must be united education, and that they were prepared to give that goal their full support in Ireland as well as in England. Cardinal Cullen and the Catholic bishops became worried by this decision and correctly assumed that the Liberals would

disappoint their hopes in education.

But Gladstone was not without great sympathy for the Irish cause in university education. This sympathy he expressed in a conversation with Dr. Russell, the President of Maynooth College, when Mr. Gladstone admitted that, although he could not accept the Catholic claims in education, he well understood their situation. For Gladstone realized that the Catholics had the right to ask for what they wanted. Russell warned him that unless he acted in the spirit of that realization, "the cordial union between the Irish and the Liberal Party would be lost."³⁹ He urged Gladstone to reconsider the Mayo plan, as any attempt to reject it summarily could lead to a dangerous rift between the Catholics and Liberals. Gladstone confessed that he did not really want to have a Charter for a Catholic University, but that he might have agreed to it if the Catholics dropped their "reckless policy" of endowment. He reassured Russell of his desire to help the Catholics in a letter dated 23 March, 1868: "I have felt so strongly the Roman Catholic grievances in respect to higher education."⁴⁰ The subject of university education was, therefore, to be the greatest challenge to the Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry.

It could not be expected that this ministry would

³⁹The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. M. S. 44414, f. 155, Russell To Gladstone, 14 March, 1868, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 266.

⁴⁰The C. W. Russell Papers, 23 March, 1868, as quoted by E. R. Norman, loc. cit.

solve the age-old Irish question all at once. Indeed, as the number and complexity of Irish problems increased, the differences between England and Ireland were intensified. L. P. Curtis comments on the serious nature of the Irish question:

The Irish question occupies a unique place in English history. No other single issue so embittered feeling at Westminster in that century. Indeed from an English point of view the Irish question had much in common with a plague. It came and went mysteriously, maiming or destroying its victims in both countries.⁴¹

The English neglected this great problem for many years.

Following their conquest of Ireland, they failed to assume the proper responsibilities for governing Ireland. And the problems grew worse. Mutual resentment, mutual ignorance and mutual suspicion developed, and stood in the way of reformers who tried to bring about harmony between England and Ireland. These three obstacles also faced the Gladstone Ministry as it addressed itself to this momentous question in 1868.

Gladstone reckoned that the Irish grievances were ecclesiastical, economical and educational. Yet it is necessary to look at his treatment of these not as of three different problems, but as three aspects of the same problem; for indeed, there was a great deal of interrelationship. The Church question was closely related to the university education question. If an end was to be put to the Irish Anglican Church Establishment, the position of the Dublin University was bound to be affected. Cardinal Cullen stressed this relationship in his reference to education as the factor

⁴¹L. P. Curtis, Jr., Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, 1880-1892 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 3.

"on which the future welfare of our religion depends."⁴² Gladstone expressly stated in 1870 that the education question was to be dealt with "in the same spirit in which we have endeavoured to deal with the Church and Land in that country."⁴³ It is not surprising, therefore, that Gladstone's objections to the principle of concurrent endowment was taken as an indication of the manner in which he proposed to deal with the problem of university education. Concurrent endowment or the distribution of ecclesiastical property and State aid indifferently to competing religious denominations, was advocated by Lord Mayo in 1868 in connection with the Church question. When the Liberals objected to this, they gave the impression that they had associated the principle with educational grants, too. Again, one statement from the priests show how closely allied in their mind were the problems of Church, Land, and Education: "We will howl for your having other people's land as your own, if you will howl for uprooting . . . the malignant influence of Protestantism in our national education."⁴⁴

Underlying Gladstone's Irish policy was the basic idea that the Irish, while forming a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, were a distinct people, and should therefore be treated as such. Consequently, he favoured

⁴² Freeman, 31 January, 1865, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 195.

⁴³ Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CC (1870), 1132.

⁴⁴ "The Irish Land Question," The Saturday Review, XXVIII (October, 1869), 527.

following a policy that was most suitable for the Irish.

Gladstone made himself quite clear on this point in a speech he delivered at Southport on 19 December, 1867:

There are certain matters in which the very effort of a Union requires that the three should have a common opinion and a common policy. So far as that goes, I would not for a moment listen to any plans whatever for separate institutions and a separate policy for England, Scotland or Ireland; but this I venture to say that in all matters except that, no man ought to be able to say that any one of these nations is governed according to the traditions, the views or the ideas of another.⁴⁵

It was not easy to try to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas. In the face of difficulties, however, the First Gladstone Ministry could embark upon its Irish programme with some confidence and hope of some success. To begin with, the country in general stood firmly behind the Liberals as the result of the General Election of 1868 proved. The Gladstone Government had the further advantage that there existed at this time a certain degree of nervousness and uncertainty with regard to the new electorate. Consequently, the friends of the House of Lords and the Queen herself would use their influence to prevent any untoward clashes between the Lords and the Commons. Moreover, anything that savoured of reform rightly belonged to this new age ushered in by the Reform Bill of 1867. The tide was moving somewhat in the Liberals' favour.

In this brief analysis of the atmosphere surrounding the announcement of the Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry, the composition of the Cabinet should not be

⁴⁵J. L. Hammond, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

overlooked. In the strength of the Cabinet lay, to a not inconsiderable degree, whatever measure of success that was to be achieved. The leader, Mr. Gladstone, was a man of courage and determination. This was important in the light of the magnitude of the task ahead. Gladstone was fortunate to have men of strong character such as Lord Granville and John Bright. Philip Magnus states that "it was due in great measure to Lord Granville . . . that Gladstone found his Cabinet the pleasantest and easiest to handle of the four over which he presided."⁴⁶ The talent and force as well as the high capacity for public business, which almost everyone displayed was remarkable. Gladstone was quite proud of his Cabinet and always spoke of it as one of the best government instruments that there ever was.

Gladstone intended to carry out his Irish policy by statutes. The Irish grievances were therefore to be met by a Church Bill for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Irish Anglican Church, a Land Bill aimed at improving the lot of the Irish peasant, and a University Education Bill to enable Roman Catholics to obtain the benefit of a university education. The stage was set. The First Gladstone Ministry was ready for the leap. The time for action had at last presented itself. This was the moment Gladstone had long waited for. In this connection he had told Granville on 11 April, 1868, that for some years he had been "watching the sky with a strong sense of the obligation to

⁴⁶ Philip Magnus, op. cit., p. 196.

act with the first streak of dawn."⁴⁷ It was left for time to reveal the full extent of the step his Government was about to take.

⁴⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE

The fortunes of the First Gladstone Ministry largely depended on the final outcome of the political battles waged over the Irish Church Bill, the Irish Land Bill and the Irish University Education Bill. The big struggle began with the General Election of 1868 which was fought and won by the Liberals almost entirely on the Irish issue. As the three bills entered Parliament they were defended or opposed by the two major parties. Directly or indirectly, the Queen, the Anglican hierarchy, the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Nonconformist element were all brought into the political arena. The upheavals accompanying the bills were of varying intensity, the Irish University Bill becoming the worst target of all. The debates in both Houses of Parliament, the letters and speeches of the Queen, of Gladstone and Disraeli, of Cullen and Manning, as well as accounts of the political situation in contemporary periodicals provide valuable information of what took place. Increased dissension within the ranks of the Liberals together with a gradual loss of support from the people weakened the position of the Gladstone Government. The Irish policy played a major role in bringing down that Government.

The General Election of 1868 was an exciting and

hard-fought contest. Gladstone and the Liberals received support from many quarters as they pledged to disestablish the Irish Anglican Church, institute land reform and improve Catholic higher education in Ireland. Hitherto, the Catholics had stood beside the Conservatives especially while Disraeli put forth his plan for an Irish Catholic University. Now, with Gladstone's promise of disestablishment, they transferred their allegiance to the Liberal camp. Cardinal Cullen declared for the Liberals, as he expressed in a note to William Monsell, M. P. for Limerick: "If there be any fair play, I hope the Liberal party will be greatly increased in Ireland."¹ It soon became clear that the other Catholic Bishops, too, were distinctly on the side of the Liberals. Bishop Moriarty of Kerry and his clergy expressed their conviction that no one should uphold any candidate for an Irish constituency in Parliament "unless on a distinct pledge to support the policy enunciated by Mr. Gladstone . . . with reference to the Established [Anglican] Church."² Disestablishment of the Irish [Anglican] Church was uppermost in the election.

Some of the Catholic Bishops went to great lengths in their support of the Liberal party. In their report on the 1868 Sligo election, John Alexander Byrne and William Robert Bruce stated that "some of the acts of the Right Rev.

¹The Monsell Papers, Box 8319, Cullen to Monsell (no date), 1868, as quoted by E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859-1873 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 347.

²Ibid., Moriarty to Monsell (no date), 1868, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 348.

Dr. Gillooly, the R. C. Bishop [of Elphin], and of certain of his clergy . . . amounted to undue influence."³ The bishop, on the Sunday before the election, had warned his congregation at the Catholic parish church that those who dared to vote for the Tory candidate (Knox) "would be considered rotten branches and should be lopped off."⁴ Catholic priests employed various means of physical intimidation to discourage their members from voting for the Conservative candidates. Some priests led mobs up and down the streets, stoning those who would not vote for the Liberals. James Cahill, testifying before the Commissioners of inquiry into corrupt practices at the 1868 Drogheda election, said that Father Matthews' instruction to "vote according to your conscience" was not at all genuine. At the polls Father Matthews commanded Cahill to vote for the Liberal candidate.⁵

Support for the Liberals also came from many High and Liberal Anglican Churchmen who had stood behind Gladstone at Oxford. Several of these were gradually losing faith in the Anglican Establishment even in England. The Duke of Buckingham, in a letter to Disraeli noted that the High Anglican Church clergy in his district refused to sign a petition expressing sympathy and support for the Irish

³Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XXXII (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. XXI), C. 48, March, 1870, "Report of Commissioners on Corrupt Practices at the last Sligo Election," p. 627.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., Vol. XLIX (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVI) (27), February, 1869, "Minutes of Evidence taken at the trial of the Drogheda Election Petition," p. 549.

Anglican Church as it faced disestablishment action.⁶ Many Wesleyans, too, chose to discontinue their traditional association with the Conservatives and joined the Liberal camp. The Nonconformists also stood solidly behind the Liberals. They constituted the largest and most active branch of the Liberal party; and as many more of them possessed the vote since the Reform Act of 1867, they were now prepared to use it against the Anglican Established Church. Gradually but surely the Conservative position weakened. Even The Tablet, the organ of the Roman Catholics, which had backed the Conservatives up to November, 1868, finally changed sides as its new editor, Herbert Vaughn, was decidedly pro-Liberal.⁷

Disraeli and the Conservatives made counter-moves but in vain. Anti-Catholic prejudices, especially among the Anglican clergy, as well as the great fear of ritualism seemed to have given hope to the Conservatives. Disraeli apparently held that his cause could be aided by Evangelical appointments to deaneries or canonries, and that a number of meetings by committees specially appointed would register protest against disestablishment. Lord Shaftesbury, philanthropist, and other outstanding Conservative Churchmen, exerted great efforts to unite the Church Institution, the Ulster Protestant Defence Association, and the United Protestant

⁶H. J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 216, with reference to the Disraeli Papers, Duke of Buckingham to Disraeli, 18 April, 1868.

⁷Ibid., p. 213.

Defence Committee in defence of the Irish Anglican Establishment. The Central Board, which was formed for this purpose, prepared and distributed circulars which gained the support of individual Anglican churchmen and a few Wesleyans, but on the whole, it failed to arouse popular enthusiasm for the Anglican cause. Nor was the hue and cry raised by ultra-Protestant bodies such as the National Protestant Union of much avail.

The Conservatives continued to lose ground in what David Thornley calls "The Disestablishment Election,"⁸ and the results were as expected. The Liberals won, increasing their lead not only in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, but also in the larger English cities. The Disraeli Government resigned immediately without even meeting parliament, thereby instituting an important precedent. The Liberal press was quite critical of this action at first, but after a little thought the move was considered a wise one, since there was no purpose in the Government's further delay. Gladstone then assumed office as Prime Minister.

Gladstone lost no time in embarking on the first of his election promises. As the Commons met in Committee on 1 March, 1869, he moved leave to bring in the Irish Church Bill to "put an end to the Establishment of the Church in Ireland, and to make provision in respect of the temporalities thereof, and in respect of the Royal College of Maynooth."⁹

⁸David Thornley, Isaac Butt and Home Rule (London: Macgibbon and Kee, Ltd., 1964), pp. 25-61.

⁹Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCIV (1869), 412.

It was clear from the Bill's preamble that the principle involved was that of total disestablishment and the preclusion of concurrent endowment. The object was, as the clauses revealed, to secularize the revenues and to withdraw all State assistance to other Churches. Disendowment was an even more vexed question than disestablishment, and stood in the path of a smooth passage of the Bill. The second reading of the Bill began on 16 March, 1869. In the Commons' debate which followed, Disraeli endeavoured to save the Irish Anglican Church endowments. He said that he most disliked the confiscation of Church property, which is "a moral and spiritual tenure" and "the fluctuating patrimony of the great body of the people."¹⁰ But it was too late. The second reading was quite successful, and so was the third which ended on 31 May, 1869, with a majority of 114.¹¹

As the Irish Church Bill entered the House of Lords, many feared its rejection. The Queen herself became quite concerned over a possible conflict between the Lords and the Commons. Her feelings were expressed in a letter which General Grey, her secretary, wrote to Archbishop Tait, stating that "the Queen cannot regard without the greatest alarm the probable effect of its absolute rejection in that House."¹² John Bright, in a public letter of 9 June, 1869, warned of

¹⁰ Ibid., 1669-1670.

¹¹ Ibid., CXCVI (1869), 971 ff.

¹² John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1905), I, 902.

the danger to the Lords if they rejected the Irish Church Bill:

The Lords are not very wise, but there is sometimes profit to the people even in their unwisdom. If they should delay the passing of the Irish Church Bill for three months, they will stimulate discussion on important questions, which, but for their infatuation, might have slumbered for many years. . . . In harmony with the nation they may go on for a long time, but throwing themselves athwart its course, they may meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of.¹³

Of course, such words from a Member of the Government touched off a political upheaval and a House of Lords' Debate, but apparently they had the desired effect. The Bill passed the Lords on 18 June, 1869. Morley states that "it was the fullest House assembled in living memory. Three hundred and twenty-five peers voted It was carried by a majority of 33."¹⁴

No one could predict, however, how the Lords would act in Committee. So far, they had, in general, decided to accept disestablishment as well as the legal framework of the Bill. "Disendowment, on the other hand," wrote Morley, "was reduced to a shadow."¹⁵ In this, the Lords' demands were exorbitant. Perhaps they were instigated by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait) who, in a letter to Gladstone on 3 June, 1869, said, "I would urge the House of Lords to give all its attention to saving as large an endowment as possible."¹⁶ Gladstone was quite conscious of the Archbishop's influence.

¹³George M. Trevelyan, The Life of John Bright (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1925), p. 403.

¹⁴John Morley, op. cit., I, 903.

¹⁵Ibid., 905.

¹⁶Ibid., 901.

He wrote to the Queen on 12 July, 1869, noting that "the Archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, has embraced an idea that the country has not passed its judgment on the subject of disendowment," and that "the misfortune is that on this unfounded opinion the House of Lords has been led to act."¹⁷ The Lords asked for an additional three or four million pounds for the Church which meant that the Anglican Church would have over thirteen or fourteen million pounds out of a total property of sixteen million pounds.

Gladstone told the Queen that the House of Commons would not agree to "giving to a disendowed Church, in one form or another, little short of ninety-ninths of the property it holds in an endowed condition," adding that "such a course can . . . establish a permanent discord between the House of Lords and the country."¹⁸ He had already agreed to allow the Church to retain three-fifths of the total property in respect of vested interests. Most members of the House of Lords also agreed to reject the words of the preamble which provided that the residue should not be used for religious purposes, and to replace it with the principle of concurrent endowments in one form or another. But the House of Commons strongly disagreed with all the Lords' amendments, although Gladstone consented to give an extra half a million pounds in lieu of private endowments plus

¹⁷The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, 1845-1879, ed. Philip Guedalla (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1933), I, 190, Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria, 12 July, 1869.

¹⁸Ibid., 190-191.

an additional amount of £280,000 for compensation. Except for these sums the Bill returned to the House of Lords just as it had left the Commons.

The Lords seemed rather impatient and aggressive when they met again on 20 July, 1869, to reconsider the Irish Church Bill. Lord Cairns, leading enemy of the Bill, declared that he would replace the substantial amendments: the demands were maintained, and the preamble was again reconstructed. The deadlock persisted. The Archbishop of Canterbury still insisted on having more than a million pounds for the Anglican Church. But according to Herbert Paul, "the spirit of compromise is inherent in British politics."¹⁹ Lord Cairns, who up to noon, 22 July, 1869, pressed for £800,000 finally agreed to accept about one third of that amount. This agreement between Lord Cairns and the Government, Archbishop Tait and Disraeli was most important. Kimberley noted that "Disraeli is said, probably with truth, to have been the prime mover in this settlement of the question, being persuaded that as long as it remained open the Liberal party could not be broken."²⁰ "All is settled." Kimberley wrote. "Cairns' speech in the House announcing the compromise was in excellent taste, at once dextrous and firm."²¹ Herbert Paul correctly observed

¹⁹Herbert Paul, A History of Modern England (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1905), III, 166.

²⁰John, First Earl of Kimberley, A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874, ed. Ethel Drus (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1958), p. 7.

²¹Ibid.

that "the crisis was over, and the constitution saved."²² With the removal of the principle of concurrent endowment and the readjustment of the preamble in the final draft, thereby giving Parliament the power to dispose of the surplus in whatever way it saw fit, the Gladstone Government had triumphed. On 26 July, 1869, the Irish Church Act received the Royal Assent.

Gladstone was mindful of the support he received during the political struggle. The Queen did her best to help bring about a peacefull settlement. It is true that she was not too happy at the idea of disestablishing the Irish Anglican Church. On 31 January, 1869, she wrote to Gladstone: "Mr. Gladstone knows that the Queen has always regretted that he should have thought himself compelled to raise this question as he has done." The Queen, however, assured Gladstone of her assistance "in bringing about a really satisfactory settlement of this question."²³ Her Majesty did fulfil this promise as she used her influence to avert a clash between the two Houses of Parliament. Even before the Irish Church Bill was introduced she successfully arranged a meeting between Gladstone and the Archbishop of Canterbury. This interview was important. Archbishop Tait discovered, to his surprise, that the Prime Minister's proposals were moderate enough. The Archbishop's uncommittting attitude then gave way and his policy there-

²²Herbert Paul, op. cit., III, 166.

²³The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, 1845-1879, ed. Philip Guedalla, I, 152-153.

after was that the Lords should accept the second reading and seek amendments in committee. "The whole incident is interesting," wrote Frank Hardie, "as an illustration of the technique of successful royal mediation between the Lords and Commons."²⁴ Gladstone was very grateful for the Queen's mediating role, and wrote to Granville on 24 July, 1869: "Pray, combine my thanks with your own for the powerful and valuable aid which she imparted through the Dean of Windsor [Gerald Wellesley]."²⁵

The successful passage of the Irish Church Act drew very favourable comments. "I could hardly have hoped," Manning wrote to Gladstone on 24 July, 1869, "that you could have so framed, mastered and carried through the Bill from first to last so complete, so unchanged in identity of principle and detail, and let me add with such unwearying and sustained self-control and forbearance."²⁶ The Annual Register noted:

Upon the whole, whatever may be thought of its merits or demerits, it can hardly be disputed that the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church introduced and carried into law within somewhat less than five months, was the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times.²⁷

But all was not quite over. The glebe-loans promise was still to be fulfilled. In March, 1869, Gladstone had

²⁴ Frank Hardie, The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901 (Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1963), pp. 59-60.

²⁵ The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876, ed. Agatha Ramm (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1952), I, 39.

²⁶ John Morley, op. cit., I, 913.

²⁷ The Annual Register, 1869, English History, p. 120.

promised with the assent of Cullen, to deal with this by means of a supplementary provision to the Irish Church Bill. Through Edward Miall, M. P. for Bradford, Gladstone came to understand that many of his Nonconformist supporters would hesitate to vote for such a measure inasmuch as it resembled the principle of endowment which was finally omitted from the Church Act. Gladstone, with the Irish Catholic Bishops backing him, proceeded with his plan for glebe loans. On 18 July, 1870, Fortescue introduced the Glebe Loans (Ireland) Bill.²⁸ As he moved a second reading on 26 July, Fortescue said that the Bill aimed to "give facilities for the erection of glebe-houses to members of other communions than the Disestablished Church."²⁹ The Bill gave authority to the Commissioners of Public Works (Ireland) to loan as much as two-thirds of the amount needed for glebe purchases.³⁰ The grants were to be available from 1870-1875. John Maguire, representative for the city of Cork, expressed great appreciation for the Bill. The Catholics, who had refused to accept any share of the disendowed property of the Irish Anglican Church, as well as the Presbyterians would greatly

²⁸Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCIII (1870), 477.

²⁹Ibid., 956.

³⁰Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. II (Bill 222), July, 1870, "A Bill to Amend the Act of the first and second years of His Late Majesty, King William the Fourth, chapter thirty-three in part, and to afford facilities for obtaining loans for the erection, enlargement and improvement of Glebe Houses, and for the acquirements of lands for Glebes in Ireland," p. 169.

benefit from the Bill. On 3 August, 1870, the Glebe Loans Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons with a majority of twenty-two votes.³¹ It also passed the Lords and became law on 10 August, 1870. One year later it was amended by a statute which provided for additional loans for other purposes.

The disendowment aspects of the Irish Church Act together with the Glebe Loans (Ireland) Act had dealt very definitely with church property. One of the objectives of both Acts was to bring about a more equal distribution of church lands, the one by breaking down the immense possessions of the Irish Anglican Establishment, the other by building up the property of the lesser churches. Widespread dissatisfaction had followed severe attacks not only on the vast landed estates of the absentee landlords but also on those of the Anglican Church. Moreover, a great many of the landowners were themselves Anglican Protestants. In 1869, The Saturday Review observed:

It was the theory that the ownership of land is in the hands of the wrong people that provoked Mr. Gladstone to denounce, in the present position of Irish proprietorship one of the pestilential effects of the Upas Tree of Protestant ascendancy.³²

The Government was expected to do something about the land situation just as it had successfully carried through disestablishment. Gladstone was quite aware all along of the

³¹Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCIII (1870), 1486.

³²"The Irish Land Question," The Saturday Review, XXVIII (1869), 325.

urgent need for land legislation but the glebe loan question had somewhat delayed action. In the midst of the struggle over the Irish Church Bill, he sought the patience of the Irish people in matters pertaining to land. While speaking on the state of Ireland on 30 April, 1869, Gladstone declared that "the occupiers of the soil in Ireland may naturally look forward to . . . the most careful efforts of Parliament for some relief from their unhappy situation."³³ For three months after the passage of the Irish Church Act Gladstone concentrated on the land problem, and on 31 October, 1869, his cabinet met to discuss the Irish Land Bill.

It was not very easy for the cabinet to decide on a plan satisfactory to all. Lord Kimberley conveyed the atmosphere of uncertainty which surrounded the discussion in his note of 31 October, 1869:

Our deliberations on the Irish Land Bill seriously commenced. Up to this time I confess I felt quite unable to perceive how a satisfactory plan could be devised. Now, having heard Sullivan, the Irish Attorney General, expound his scheme, I see light. It is evident that Sullivan . . . is the real author of the plan. The Attorney General's plan amounts practically to the extension of the Ulster Tenant right to the whole of Ireland.³⁴

Such difficulties could be expected, however, as the Land Bill was bound to excite the hostility of the privileged class; and according to Morley, "the cabinet was in the main made up of landlords, lawyers, hardened and convicted economists."³⁵

³³Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCIV (1869), 2028.

³⁴Kimberley, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁵John Morley, op. cit., I, 915-916.

This was a critical time. The new Land Bill must also satisfy the peasants if the agrarian unrest which marked the decade following the inadequate Land Improvement (Ireland) Act of 1860 was not to be repeated. With this in mind, the Irish Catholic Bishops exerted great pressure for including in the Bill the principles of perpetuity of tenure and judicially fixed rent. But "how impossible it would have been," Morley wrote, "even for Mr. Gladstone to persuade either cabinet or parliament to adopt such invasions of prevailing doctrine."³⁶ Consequently, the Irish Catholic Bishops were not consulted when the Land Bill was drafted.

Gladstone then introduced to Parliament the Irish Land Bill which received its first reading on 15 February, 1870.³⁷ He expressed deep concern for the Irish peasant's legal position which he doubted was "materially better, or even better at all than it was before the mitigation of the Penal Laws."³⁸ The Bill was generally well received. Notwithstanding their criticisms, the Irish Catholic Bishops decided to support the Bill. Cardinal Cullen was very kindly in his remark to Gladstone:

Whether your Land Bill will become law or not, Ireland is bound to be eternally grateful to you for the glorious efforts you have made to remove the effects of past grievances.³⁹

³⁶Ibid., 930.

³⁷Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCIX (1870), 333.

³⁸Ibid., 346.

³⁹The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. MS. 44425, f. 243, Cullen to Gladstone, 12 March, 1870, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op cit., p. 398.

The second reading of the Land Bill which began on 7 March, 1870,⁴⁰ was soon carried by a majority of 431. Conservative opposition was in the main moderate. It is true that Disraeli moved an amendment to limit compensation to improvements that had not been completely used up. But considering the loud demands of the Irish members for permanent tenure, Gladstone seemed somewhat surprised at the mild conduct of the Conservatives. Writing to the Duke of Argyll, Indian Secretary in his cabinet, Gladstone noted (21 April, 1870) that Disraeli "has not spoken one word against valuation of rents or perpetuity of tenure."⁴¹ It was Gladstone himself who violently opposed fixity of tenure. Eight of the eleven members who voted against the second reading had sided with Sir John Gray, proprietor of the Catholic Freeman's Journal and leader of the highly dissatisfied Tenant Right Party, to include in the Bill a "permissive parliamentary tenant-right" clause. Gladstone realized that this would be identical to fixity of tenure and objected: "Perpetuity of tenure is . . . going out of fashion,"⁴² he said. Such firmness was effective, for no division marked the successful third reading of the Bill.

In the House of Lords there was conflict over the new principle of the Irish Land Bill that the tenant should

⁴⁰Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCIX (1870), 1373.

⁴¹John Morley, op. cit., I, 929.

⁴²Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCIX (1870), 1843.

receive payment for damages resulting from eviction. In its original form the clause (2) dealing with this stated:

Where a tenant is disturbed in his holding by the act of the landlord, . . . the tenant so disturbed shall be entitled to such compensation as the courts may find to be payable to him according to the usage to which the holding is proved to be subject.⁴³

This clause passed through the House of Commons in this form but was deleted by the Lords. They objected on the ground that the Court would have the power to review rents which were agreed upon by landlord and tenant. In an attempt to please the Lords the Commons confined the clause to a £15 rent limit and agreed that the court would advise compensation in instances of "excessive" rent. The Lords' consent to this compromise was on one condition - that the word "exorbitant" replace "excessive". This change carried great weight and Gladstone realized it. However, the Commons accepted it, although quite reluctantly..

Other changes were also made by the Lords. Taking to the side of the Lords, the Blackwood's Magazine noted:

Material changes have been effected in the scale of compensation for eviction and in the limits of value settled by the Government as entitling to such compensation. The maximum fine on a landlord for getting rid of an obnoxious tenant is reduced from seven to six years' rental.. . . Still more valuable is the legal prohibition imposed upon the practice of sub-letting on the conacre principle [i.e. the letting by a tenant of small portions of land ready prepared for a crop], except with the landlord's permission.⁴⁴

⁴³Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. II (Bill 29), February, 1870, "A Bill to Amend the Law relating to the Occupation and Ownership of Land in Ireland," pp. 263-264.

⁴⁴"The Lords and the Irish Land Bill," Blackwood's Magazine, CVIII (July, 1870), 128.

The Lords also succeeded in establishing the landlord's right to claim a five percent deduction from whatever compensation fine he may be charged by the Court on account of improvements he made. On the whole the Commons agreed to the Lords' amendments.

But there were three points, of major importance which they asked the lords to re-consider. The Lords desired a general reduction in the scale of compensation, and a shortening by ten years of the thirty-one year lease period, which they could enforce on tenants in order to escape the operations of the Land Bill. The Government for its part wished to see the permissive registration of improvements carried out jointly by landlord and tenant. The Bill passed its second reading in the House of Lords and became law as it was given the Royal Assent on 1 August, 1870.⁴⁵ No doubt even those who did not favour it had come to realize as The Nation observed that "whatever the theoretic exceptions to the Bill may be, nothing less will have any chance of curing Irish discontent, and Irish discontent has to be cured somehow."⁴⁶ Herbert Paul commented on the Irish Land Act:

Its interest and its value lie in the recognition of a great principle and an intolerable wrong. The wrong was capricious eviction. The principle was that the Irish tenant is not a contractor for the occupation of a farm, but a partner in the ownership of the soil.⁴⁷

⁴⁵The Annual Register, 1870, English History, p. 49.

⁴⁶The Nation, X (April, 1870), 265.

⁴⁷Herbert Paul, op. cit., III, 210.

Despite the successful passage of the Irish Land Act which according to The Annual Register, was "one of the most remarkable and original pieces of legislation in the Statute Book,"⁴⁸ Gladstone had to tread cautiously. He had watched the great reduction of the overwhelming majority of four hundred and thirty-one (431) during the early stages of the Land Bill to seventy-six (76) after Disraeli moved "an amendment limiting compensation to unexhausted improvements."⁴⁹ It was evident from this that there was a cooling off of support for his programme and that coming legislation would be more difficult. Moreover English sympathy for the Irish cause was gradually withdrawn, as, notwithstanding the promises held out by the Irish Land Act, the Westmeath and Mayo agrarian crimes continued. McCabe, the Catholic Bishop of Ardagh had hinted in a public letter in 1869 that many of those who were behind the agrarian outrages were opposed to the Irish Church Bill.⁵⁰ And it is conceivable that those Irish Catholics who set themselves against Gladstone's Church measure did so on the ground that it sought to link the education question with the Church question.

While the Irish Catholics in general welcomed disestablishment, there were many who would not be reconciled to the Maynooth clause of the Irish Church Act of 1869. That

⁴⁸The Annual Register, 1870, English History, p. 49.

⁴⁹W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli (London: John Murray, 1920), V, 119.

⁵⁰E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 368, with reference to the Guardian, 24 March, 1869.

clause (39) stipulated among other things that the Catholic College of Maynooth would not receive any further State aid, although it would be compensated with an amount fourteen times the annual grant.⁵¹ During the Commons Committee discussion of this subject in May, 1869, The O'Connor Don, M. P. for Roscommon, represented the Catholics. He ended the long debate between Gladstone and the Irish Catholics with the claim that the question of Maynooth was not a "religious but an educational endowment."⁵² It was to the English Radicals and Dissenters, therefore, rather than to the Irish Catholics that Gladstone owed much of the success of his Church measure. Having discovered that the Radicals and Dissenters were opposed to the continuation of the Maynooth grant, Gladstone took sides with them against the claims of the Irish. The Maynooth clause was of heart-felt interest to the Catholics whose influence had failed to win Gladstone to their line of argument. This is significant, for these seeming little ripples on the surface associated with Maynooth at the time of the Irish Church Act would develop into whirlpools when the Ministry came to the very difficult question of university education. This was the last big problem to which Gladstone turned his attention. The experiences of the past must have taught him that this third branch of the Upas Tree was, as Justin

⁵¹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III (Bill 27), March, 1869, "A Bill to put an end to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland and to make Provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and in respect of the Royal College of Maynooth," p. 198.

⁵²Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCVI (1869), 146.

McCarthy correctly observed, "a branch of tougher fibre, well calculated to turn the edge of even the best weapon, and to jar the strongest arm that wielded it."⁵³

The ill-fate which was to be the lot of the Irish University Bill was hardly perceived when the House of Commons Committee met on 13 February, 1873, to consider higher education in Ireland. As Morley wrote, "everybody knew that the state of university education in Ireland stood in the front rank of unsettled questions,"⁵⁴ and doubtless everyone was anxious for a settlement. Kimberley hopefully noted on 6 February, 1873, "I think the Irish University Bill promises well."⁵⁵ Gladstone himself seemed quite pleased with what transpired at the introduction of the Bill. On 14 February, 1873, he wrote to the Queen:

The general impression last night appeared to be that the friends of Trinity College were relieved; that the Liberal party and the Nonconformists were well satisfied with the conformity between the proposed measure and the accepted principles of University organization in England. All that Mr. Gladstone has heard this morning . . . tends generally . . . to support the expectation that the Bill is not unlikely to pass.⁵⁶

But this hopeful feeling was short-lived, and was soon replaced by grave apprehension. "Notwithstanding the delusive calm after Gladstone's speech introducing the Irish University

⁵³Justin McCarthy, A History of Our Own Times (New York: United States Book Company, 1895), IV, 556.

⁵⁴John Morley, op. cit., II, 42.

⁵⁵Lord Kimberley, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵⁶The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, ed. Philip Guedalla, I, 391-392, Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria, 14 February, 1873.

Bill, the storm is about to burst over us,"⁵⁷ Kimberley wrote on 1 March, 1873.

As he introduced the Irish University Bill, Gladstone seemed very much impressed with the need for reform in higher education in Ireland. In his speech, he pointed to the fewness in number of those being educated in the arts:

I take the year 1871 which is the latest I possess. . . . Seven hundred and eighty four is the whole number of students who are receiving regular instruction in arts, for the whole of Ireland, with its five million and a half of population.⁵⁸

Indeed Gladstone looked beyond the religious grievance and showed that the inadequacy of academical teaching demanded as much attention. He also stressed the urgent need for a revision of the constitution of Trinity College as well as the improvement of the status of the University of Dublin, as distinct from Trinity College. In strong appeal he then said, "I hope Parliament will conduct that great academic reform to which I have pointed by means of the measure we are about to introduce."⁵⁹

The principle of the Irish University Bill was along the lines suggested by Monsell to Cullen in 1869. The University of Dublin, separate from Trinity College was to be converted into an Irish National University. As a federal institution with affiliated colleges it would enjoy exclusive degree-granting privileges. The University which would

⁵⁷Lord Kimberley, loc. cit.

⁵⁸The Annual Register, 1873, English History, p. 12.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 14

comprise Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork, the Catholic College of Maynooth, Magee College in Londonderry, and any others which first, Parliament, and afterwards, the governing body would determine, was to be an examining body. Nominally, it was to be considered a teaching body also, although theology, modern history and moral philosophy which might be taught by the constituent colleges, were to be excluded from the curriculum of the university. The imposition of all religious tests or religious qualifications for any purpose whatsoever would cease. Funds from Trinity College and the State as well as what remained from endowments of the disestablished Church were to be used for the upkeep of the University.⁶⁰ Gladstone summarized the Bill as a step taken in the direction of abolition of Tests, open endowments, and emancipation of the University from the Colleges, adding that Parliament having recently effected changes in Oxford and Cambridge, would endeavour to reform the Dublin University on similar principles.⁶¹ Gladstone had taken time to outline carefully in his speech on 13 February, 1873, the plans for the government, faculty, and finances of the proposed new University.⁶² In this way, he hoped to find the answer to the university education problem in Ireland, but he was to be sorely disappointed.

⁶⁰Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. VI (1873), pp. 329-361, for the full text of the provisions of the Irish University Education Bill of 1873.

⁶¹Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCXIV (1873), 404-407.

⁶²The Annual Register, 1873, English History, pp. 17-21.

The second reading of the University Bill began on 3 March, 1873, when it was assailed by the Irish Catholic members, the Conservatives, and a group of Liberals led by Henry Fawcett. The conflict raged. While Edward Miall supported the Bill on the basis that it mirrored the secular principle, Henry Fawcett, the Radical, and his disciples condemned it because of its leanings toward the denominational system. Rowland Blennerhasset, M. P. for Kerry, noting the emphasis of the Liberals on mixed education warned them:

United education when it is free, when it is voluntary, when it is a liberation of the conscience, is one thing; but . . . united education, when it is not free, when it is imposed on an unwilling people, when it is the coercion of a conscience is quite another.⁶³

The Irish members became more furious at this insistence on mixed education and in this connection they were greatly inspired by the Irish Catholic hierarchy which continued to demand the denominational system.

Gladstone quickly recognized the political power of the Irish Catholic hierarchy and its threat to the University Bill. He seemed quite discouraged as his report to the Queen on 8th March, 1873, reveals:

Strange to say, it is the opposition of the Roman Catholic Bishops that brings about the present difficulty, . . . All these bishops, working upon liberal Irish members through their political interest in their seats, have proceeded so far that from twenty to twenty-five may go against the bill, and as many may stay away. When to these are added the small knot of discontented Liberals and mere

⁶³ Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCXIV (1873), 1679.

fanatics which so large a party commonly contains, the Government majority, now taken at only 85 disappears.⁶⁴

The Catholic Bishops continued to make their political influence felt. They sent a petition to Parliament denouncing anything in the Bill that savoured of mixed education, and criticizing the manner of the distribution of endowments. The Saturday Review noted that "the arguments used by the Roman Catholic members are merely amplifications of the resolutions adopted by the Irish Bishops."⁶⁵ The Quarterly Review stated:

Parliament has made the principle of religious equality the cornerstone of its policy in Ireland.
 . . . Religious equality does not satisfy the Ultramontane Party. They want not equality, but ascendancy.
 . . . It is plain that nothing will meet the Ultramontane demands but the surrender by the State of its responsibilities as to higher culture, and that Mr. Gladstone dare not propose.⁶⁶

Although the Catholic Bishops' resolutions contained nothing to prevent the Irish members from giving their support to the Bill, it was their effect which largely secured its defeat, and thus brought down the Government. "This declaration," wrote Sir Spencer Walpole, "settled the fate of the measure."⁶⁷ Its double effect was deadly. It aroused the anger of some members against the demands of the bishops. Vernon Harcourt, the Oxford Representative, who had made

⁶⁴John Morley, op. cit., II, 49.

⁶⁵"The Irish University Debate," The Saturday Review, XXXV (March, 1873), 302.

⁶⁶"The Ministry and University Education in Ireland," The Quarterly Review, CXXXIV (January & April, 1873), 285-286.

⁶⁷Sir Spencer Walpole, The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856-1880 (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1903), III, 257.

known his intention to vote for the Bill's second reading, declared against the clauses which prohibited the teaching of ethics and modern history as "the anathema of the Vatican against modern civilization."⁶⁸ Edward Horsman, M. P. for Liskeard, who heartily congratulated Gladstone on the Irish University Bill also made a devastating speech. He seemed disgusted by the Catholic Bishops' demands which expressed the greatest dissatisfaction. "Why does not the Government withdraw the Bill?" Horsman pleaded. "Nobody wants it - nobody accepts it - it settles nothing, but unsettles everybody."⁶⁹ This statement was not unfounded.

Even the Nonconformist members of the Liberal Party who had upheld Gladstone's hands in the struggle for the disestablishment of the Irish Anglican Church, withdrew their support from the Irish University Bill. The Blackwood's Magazine observed that "the English Dissenters will no more endure the Papist body to domineer in Ireland, than the Protestant Episcopalian Church in England."⁷⁰ The Nonconformists had watched very carefully the developing trend of Catholic educational demands. In the Maynooth Resolutions of 1869, the Catholic Bishops stated that the Ministers of Government must know that they "demand for Irish Catholics Catholic education" since "it alone can be in keeping with the feelings

⁶⁸Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCXIV (1873), 1630.

⁶⁹The Annual Register, 1873, English History, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁰"Our State and Prospects," Blackwood's Magazine, CXIII (February, 1873), 253.

of the vast majority of the nation."⁷¹ Such arrogant claims not only drew great denunciations from the press in England and Scotland, but also a warning from the Nonconformists that they could not support the Catholic demands. It was well known that the Irish Catholic hierarchy were determined to have full sway over education in both school and college. The Nonconformist Liberals were very much against this.

Young Liberals and Radicals saw eye to eye with the Nonconformist members and refused to support the second reading of the Bill which they thought had reflected too strongly the Catholic aims. They could not favour among other things, the gagging clauses, i.e. those relating to tests and the theological faculty. One of these clauses (11) stated:

The council shall have power to question, reprimand or punish by suspension, deprivation or otherwise any professor, teacher or examiner . . . who may by word of mouth, writing or otherwise, be held . . . to have given offence to the religious convictions of any member of the University.⁷²

The Radicals declared against what they considered "the humiliating precautions of the Bill against proselytism, and the alleged inclination of the Government to conciliate the priesthood."⁷³ They would have a bill based on the secular principle. In their view the Irish university education problem could be solved by abolishing tests and by fortifying

⁷¹"The Education Question in Ireland," The Saturday Review, XXVIII (September, 1869), 341.

⁷²Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. VI (Bill 55), February, 1873, "A Bill for the Extension of University Education in Ireland," p. 336.

⁷³The Annual Register, 1873, English History, p. 23.

the Governing body with academicians.

But the Irish Catholic members did not appreciate the efforts at compromise that Gladstone had made, and were preparing to vote against the Bill. William Magee, Anglican Bishop of Peterborough, doubtlessly concerned about the educational demands of the Irish hierarchy, had warned in an address delivered in the House of Lords on 15 June, 1869, that "an alliance between the Ultramontanists and a Liberal Government on this question is quite impossible."⁷⁴ Indeed the margin of disagreement between Gladstone and the Irish members widened. The Irish members, Radicals and Nonconformist members therefore found themselves on one side opposed to the measure, though for different reasons. It was such a situation, fraught with Irish and Liberal discontent that Disraeli and the Conservatives exploited.

The Bill was doomed. The Conservative Leader, Disraeli, now sure of his ground, struck, and struck hard. During the second reading, he attacked the already criticized provision for the removal of mental and moral philosophy and modern history from the curriculum of the proposed new University and repeated the circumstances that closely linked the Roman Catholics with the Conservative party. He then proceeded in a few sweeping sentences to condemn the whole Irish policy of the Gladstone Government:

You have despoiled churches. You have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country. You have examined into everybody's affairs. You have

⁷⁴Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCVI (1869), 1869.

criticized every profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, and nobody knows what duties he may have to perform tomorrow. . . . I must vote against a measure which I believe to be monstrous in its general principles, pernicious in many of its details and utterly futile as a measure of practical legislation.⁷⁵

The House divided on the second reading on 11 March, 1873, at the end of four nights of debate. The Conservative party supported by the Irish Catholic members as well as some Radical and Nonconformist Liberals voted against it. It is said that of the forty-three Liberals who voted against the Bill, thirty-five were Irish. When Gladstone reported to the Queen on 12 March, 1873, he stated that "it was the Irish vote which grew continually worse."⁷⁶ The Irish University Bill was defeated by 287 votes to 284.⁷⁷ Mr. Gladstone had made a brilliant speech to close the debate. He very ably defended the Bill. "What is to be the policy that is to follow the rejection of the Bill? What is to be the policy adopted in Ireland?"⁷⁸ he asked. But it was too late. The Bill was thrown out and the First Gladstone Ministry came to an end.

In his speech introducing the Irish University Education Bill, Gladstone declared that by it his Government would stand or fall. As soon as the Bill was defeated, therefore, he submitted his resignation to the Queen. But Disraeli

⁷⁵The Annual Register, 1873, English History, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁶The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, ed. Philip Guedalla, I, 395.

⁷⁷Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCXIV (1873), 1863.

⁷⁸The Annual Register, 1873, English History, p. 32.

declined to take office immediately. He pointed to Gladstone's majority of nearly ninety and argued that his minority Government would neither have enough authority nor be able to inspire public confidence. Moreover, Disraeli admitted that he had no special ties with the Irish Catholic members whose vote had helped to defeat Gladstone. In vain the Liberals advanced arguments that it was Disraeli's duty to form a Government: that it was folly in him to work hard to defeat the Bill when he was not prepared to take over. Gladstone and his colleagues therefore had to resume office on 20 March, 1873. This, however, could not constitute a return to power. The driving force necessary for accomplishing great tasks was gone. The Liberals finally yielded to the Conservative victory of February, 1874.

CHAPTER III

SOME REACTIONS

At every stage the Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry provoked reactions of one kind or another, and such reactions in turn had some effect on the course of that policy. Anglican and Catholic clergy, Nonconformists and other Protestants, landlords and peasants, indeed, everyone was affected in some way by this far-reaching policy. A peaceful revolution was taking place. Inevitably, much bitterness and dissatisfaction resulted from unfulfilled demands and wishes. The reactions and counter-reactions to Gladstone's Irish measures as well as to the problems in Ireland shook the whole social body to its foundations.

The First Gladstone Ministry had directed its attention at once to the state of the Irish Anglican Church Establishment. This Establishment, which was well organized and richly endowed by the State, had as its original aim the conversion of the Roman Catholics to the Anglican Protestant faith. This aim was frustrated, however, and by 1868, only about one-tenth of the whole population of Ireland were members of the Anglican Church. Thus in Ireland the Anglican Established Church was the Church of a privileged minority.

The Establishment caused much dissatisfaction among the Irish people. The Monarch made all appointments in

Church and State to the disadvantage of the Catholics. While the Anglican Church received a large annual subsidy, the other churches had to provide for themselves. Catholics and Protestant Dissenters were also compelled to support the Anglican system financially. By the nineteenth century this obligation had become increasingly burdensome to the Catholics; for the decision in 1735 to exempt grazing land from the payment of tithes resulted in additional responsibility for the Catholic peasantry in the maintenance of the Anglican Established Church.¹ W. Maziere Brady gave an idea of the revenue situation:

The Church revenues of Ireland - that is what remains after successive spoliations by Protestant princes and prelates - amounts to £600,000 or £700,000 yearly, of which sum not a shilling is enjoyed by the 4,505,265 Roman Catholics for the entire is applied to the use of 693,357 Anglicans exclusively. The benefices contain, on an average, 459 Anglicans, 395 Dissenters, and 2,983 Roman Catholics per parish; but the 459 Anglicans receive all the Church funds.²

Brady goes on to point out that no matter how many Roman Catholics there were in a parish, if the number of Anglicans became nil, such a parish automatically ceased to be. The large numbers of Roman Catholics in such parishes were ignored by the state, and any attempt on their part to establish parochial status for their Church, was considered a breach of the law.³

¹Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 15.

²W. Maziere Brady, "The Irish Establishment under Papal and Protestant Princes," The Contemporary Review, IX (September-December, 1868), 33.

³Ibid.

In 1868, David Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, declared that "religious inequality or the [Anglican] Church Establishment is the only remaining vestige of conquest."⁴ The monopolization of nearly all the wealth, the land and the professions by the Anglican Protestants seemed to the Catholics a means of oppression. The Anglican clergy frequently denounced the Roman Catholic Church, and every effort was made to proselytize Catholic children. The Irish, greatly frustrated, desired the urgent removal of the Anglican Establishment. In England, too, there was some feeling that this might help put an end to much of the irritation, jealousy, and dissension which had existed between the two countries.

Gladstone's remedy for these Church grievances was the Irish Church Act of 1869. To this end he had directed his energies on the Church question. He had, on 23 March, 1868, proposed a motion in the Commons in the form of three resolutions. These resolutions called for the end of the Irish Anglican Church Establishment with due regard for vested interests, for the confinement of the work of the Ecclesiastical Commission pending the final decision of Parliament on the Church, and for an address to the Crown praying that the Queen's interest in Irish temporalities be placed at the

⁴The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. MS. 44152, f. 98, Moriarty to Monsell, 2 March, 1868, as quoted by E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859 - 1873 (London: Longmans, 1965), pp. 20-21.

disposal of Parliament.⁵ The General Election of 1868 placed the Liberals in power and on 1 March, 1869, Gladstone introduced a Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Anglican Church.

The Irish Church Act of 1869 provided that the disestablishment of the Irish Anglican Church was to be effective as from 1 January, 1871, when the ecclesiastical courts would have no more jurisdiction in Ireland, and the Irish Anglican Bishops would lose their right to sit in the House of Lords. The clergy and laity would appoint a governing body to represent the disestablished Church, and this body which would be incorporated by law would be recognized by the Queen in Council. The Crown would relinquish the right to appoint Bishops. There were many other provisions relating to vested interests, to the fulfilment of duties, the division and distribution of Church property as well as the administration of such property for the future, the management of the churches, and the disposal and appropriation of the revenues which would remain after all claims were met.⁶ Disendowment was to be effective immediately.

This attempt to disestablish and disendow the Irish Anglican Church met violent opposition in some quarters at the outset. Although the necessity for such action was understood by many, strong arguments for the preservation of the

⁵Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCI (1868), 32.

⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. III (1868-1869), pp. 89-231 for the full text of the provisions of the Irish Church Act of 1869.

Irish Anglican Establishment were advanced by others especially those who saw their vested interests threatened. Some, including William Thompson, the Archbishop of York, held the view that the Irish Anglican Church was not necessarily established as the Church of the privileged or as a missionary Church for the conversion of Roman Catholics, but rather "as a living witness of the State against Popery."⁷ Others said:

The Church now existed of right, and that disestablishment and disendowment would be confiscation and theft. . . . The Church should be maintained, because its doctrines were true, while those of the Catholic Church were false. Its [the Anglican Church's] cause was identified with the British Constitution and the rights of property. The destruction of the Church of Ireland would be the destroying of an essential and fundamental part of the Act of Union.⁸

Of course, as the controversy raged, no one argued that the Anglican Church was beyond reproach and the desire for reform was expressed by many who thought that disestablishment and disendowment constituted an act of sacrilege.

Many critics of the disestablishment policy went as far as to imply that there could be no real disestablishment of the Irish Anglican Church. This view was strongly expressed in the Blackwood's Magazine in 1869.

So long as the Church of England subsists in England its real disestablishment in Ireland is simply impossible. It may lose the parish and the parish church, the glebe and the tithe; but it will continue as a congregation, as a body of Church of England men living together in Church association, and it will bring in the State into every town or village in

⁷ "The Irish Church," The Saturday Review, XXVI (1868), 5.

⁸ E. R. Turner, Ireland and England (New York: The Century Co., 1919), p. 185.

which they dwell.⁹

Some members of the Anglican Church hierarchy, too, expressed their disapproval of disestablishment and refused to co-operate with Gladstone. They denounced the Irish Church Act as "the greatest evil in the eyes of God; and Protestant pastors were encouraged to destroy their churches with gunpowder rather than yield to another system."¹⁰ It became known also that the Queen herself was in no way enthusiastic about disestablishment. On 3 February, 1869, the Queen's doctor, Sir William Jenner, paid Gladstone a visit and hinted to him that it was not for health reasons alone that the Queen did not consent to open Parliament in person, but "from an anxiety to avoid any personal interference in the great question pending with respect to the Irish Anglican Church."¹¹ Gladstone was quite upset the following day at the suggestion of the Queen that he might, if he wished, report to the Press that she had been "more than normally suffering from severe headache."¹²

Nevertheless, the Gladstone Ministry found much support in the struggle for reform of the Irish Anglican Church. In a letter to Samuel Hinds, Anglican Bishop of Norwich, on 31 December, 1869, Gladstone remarked:

⁹"Mr. Gladstone and Disestablishment," Blackwood's Magazine, CV (February, 1869), 243.

¹⁰John Morley, The Life of William Ewart Gladstone (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1905), I, 899.

¹¹Philip Magnus, Gladstone: A Biography (London: John Murray, 1945), p. 199.

¹²Ibid.

Our mode of warfare cannot but be influenced by the troops we lead. Our three corps d'armee, I may almost say, have been Scotch Presbyterians, English and Welsh Nonconformists and Irish Roman Catholics. We are very strong in our minority of clerical and lay churchmen. . . . We represent the national force, tested by a majority of considerably over a hundred voices. It is hazardous in these times to tamper with such a force.¹³

A large number of the Wesleyans too soon took sides with the Liberals on the disestablishment issue. For some time they had been going along with the Conservatives but gradually declared in favor of the Liberals as they welcomed the opportunity to take vengeance on the Anglican Church.

Encouraged in this way the Gladstone Ministry had pushed the Irish Church Bill forward. It is true that doubts existed in the minds of many Whigs as to whether the Bill was effective enough to bring about a religious settlement that would satisfy and benefit all the people of Ireland. On the whole, however, faith was expressed in the efficacy of the Bill. The Duke of Argyll, Indian Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet, like some others, felt that the Irish suffering associated with the Establishment at this time, was to some extent psychological rather than real. He admitted, however, that while the Establishment was not nearly as bad as it seemed, and was perhaps only a "traditional remembrance of the miseries and oppressions of their former history," its removal would "to a very great extent, pacify and conciliate the thinking and moderate people of Ireland."¹⁴ Cardinal

¹³ John Morley, op. cit., I, 894.

¹⁴ The House of Lords Debate, June, 1868, as quoted by Donald Southgate, The Passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886 (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 341.

Cullen, too, expressed the hope that the Bill would satisfy all classes in Ireland. On 11 March, 1869, he wrote to Gladstone:

The measures proposed in that Bill appear very well adapted to promote the interests of Ireland. Since it has appeared, I have seen several of my colleagues in the episcopacy, and many persons of every class among Catholics, and they all agree in expecting that the new legislation will inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity for this country.¹⁵

In a letter to the Dublin clergy a few days later, Cullen stated that if the measures proposed by the Prime Minister were accepted by Parliament, they would "largely contribute to spread contentment and produce harmony among all classes."¹⁶ Indeed the Bill was accepted by Parliament.

Certain aspects of disendowment indirectly involved problems of both land and university education. Not only were the Presbyterians to be denied any further payment in the form of the Regium Donum, i.e., an annual grant formerly made from the public funds to Presbyterians and other Non-conformist Ministers in Great Britain and Ireland, but the grant to the Catholic Training College of Maynooth was also to cease. This latter embraced the university education question. The Church Commissioners, by special provision in the Irish Church Act, were empowered to sell to tenants whatever had remained of the Church estates. The tenants were to be assisted in their purchase by State loans. The result was

¹⁵The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. MS. 44419, f. 198, Cullen to Gladstone, 11 March, 1869, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 364.

¹⁶The Times, 15 March, 1869, p. 7.

the creation of some six thousand peasant proprietors. This was the first use of State aid for the purchase of land.

The Irish Church Act had thus inadvertently touched upon the question of land and peasant proprietary which constituted the next big problem with which the Gladstone Government had to deal. But the land problem was more complicated than that of the Church. The situation clearly favoured the landlord, as the one-sided Acts of Parliament between 1816 and 1843 showed. Many Bills to benefit tenants were denied by Parliament until nearly 1870, although from 1846 to 1870 a balanced position between landlord and tenant was aimed at by means of free contract of hiring and letting. This was the object of Deasy's Act of 1860.¹⁷ The tenant possessed no power to bargain, however, and the contract was therefore bias. Poor relationship between landlord and tenant continued to be at the heart of the land problem. On 23 October, 1869, The Saturday Review observed:

But in England it is beginning to be seen and understood that there really is an Irish land question, and that the law that regulates the relations of landlord and tenant in England, neither corresponds to the facts of daily life nor does anything like justice between the parties.¹⁸

A little earlier, 21 August, 1869, The Saturday Review stated that land was owned by the wrong persons. It objected to the existing ownership of land on three grounds. The landowners were Protestants, while most of the people in Ireland were

¹⁷Ernest Barker, Ireland in the Last Fifty Years, 1866-1918 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1919), p. 51.

¹⁸"The Irish Land Question," The Saturday Review, XXVIII (October, 1869), 527.

Catholics; the absentee practices of the landlords were hurting the tenants' cause; too much property was held by the landlords.¹⁹ This Protestant ascendancy in the ownership of the land greatly concerned the Gladstone Ministry.

The tenant's plight was serious. Very rarely did the tenant enjoy lease-holding privileges, and he was particularly irked by the custom by which he, rather than the landlord, made improvements on the land. Mr. Horsley, one of the Commissioners appointed to survey the landlord-tenant situation in Ireland, reported on 14 January, 1870:

Where the improvements have been made in the middle or near the expiration of the term of years for which they hold they must rely on the honour and equity of their landlords for full or partial compensation for their outlay; but tenants at will who form the great bulk of agricultural holders possess no security whatever either by guarantee that they will receive a fair proportion of the value of their improvements in the event of eviction or by guarantee of undisturbed enjoyment of the effects of these improvements for a certain definite period.²⁰

The question of improvements received much attention from the Commissioners. In his report on 15 January, 1870, Dr. Roughans said that in some cases "the tenants have their faith in their landlords shaken by such acts as a disproportionate increase of rents,"²¹ after they had made improvements with their own capital. Dr. Roughans continued to relate the experience of

¹⁹"The Irish Land Question," Ibid., 235.

²⁰Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XIV (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. III), C. 31, January, 1870, "Reports from Poor Law Inspectors in Ireland as to the Existing Relations Between Landlord and Tenant in respect of Improvements on Farms, Drainage, Reclamation of Land, Fencing, Planting, &c.," p. 57.

²¹Ibid., p. 96.

a tenant in Dromor West Union who had spent over £100 in improvements on the land. The tenant was asked to quit when a new proprietor took over in 1868. In due course, the sheriff forcefully dislodged the tenant, thus leaving the new landlord to enjoy the value of the improvements which had gone into the land. According to Mr. Brodie, the responsibility fell to the tenant to drain and reclaim land, to convert bogs into arable land, to erect fences and to make and repair roads.²³

High rent was often a source of tenant complaint. Even after the great famine of 1845-47, the population was too much for the land which was rather uneconomically cultivated. The big demand for land resulted in high prices and somewhat extortionate rents. This fact has been disputed to a certain degree, however. The Blackwood's Magazine in 1869 insisted that "the land of Ireland is not excessively nor even highly rented," and that "the rate of rent is not as high, under equal conditions, as in England."²⁴ But before this claim can be justified, it is important to note the difference between the meaning of property in England and in Ireland. In England property implied the sole duty of the landlord receiving rent to properly prepare the land for the tenant who might wish to invest his money, time and skill on it. In Ireland most people understood property to include the duty of the tenant to enhance the working values of the land. In

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 70.

²⁴"The Land Question in Ireland," Blackwood's Magazine, CVI (November, 1869), 574.

still other ways, the conditions in England and Ireland were not the same. Many Acts of Parliament protected the British tenant but not the Irish peasant.

There were other peasant grievances including eviction and the cess or the exaction of provisions at a fixed price for the supply of the household and soldiers of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Dr. Roughans stated in his report on 15 January, 1870, that "notices to quit, up to the last year, have been of frequent occurrence," and that in some instances "the necessity of those legal documents has been superseded by the adoption of a more rapid method of ridding the estates of the tenants."²⁵ It was alleged that Government legislation had to some extent facilitated the thousands of evictions between 1849 and 1859. The cess had become a burden also. Mr. J. O'Connor testified before the Select Committee on the Tenure (Ireland) Bill on 12 July, 1867. "Is there any point you would wish to bring under the attention of the Committee in respect to the improvement of the laws in Ireland with regard to the tenure of the land?" he was asked. Mr. O'Connor's reply pointed to the cess instead of directly to land tenure. He said:

There is one point which does not exactly relate to the tenure of land, but which bears hardly upon the tenant; that is, paying the county cess, and being the only party to pay county cess; that bears very hard upon the tenant as between himself and the

²⁵Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XIV (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. III), C. 31, January, 1870, "Reports from Poor Law Inspectors in Ireland as to the Existing Relations between Landlord and Tenant in respect of Improvements on Farms, Drainage, Reclamation of Land, Fencing, Planting, &c.," p. 88.

landlord; it is a very heavy drain upon the tenant, for which he receives nothing in return, as far as regards any allowance from the landlord.²⁶

This was the situation, though only partially presented here, which the First Gladstone Ministry faced. To improve this picture was not very easy. In a discussion of the Irish Land situation, The Saturday Review, 20 November, 1869, the question is asked, "What is the question that Parliament is to be invited to redress?" The answer is given:

As in the case of the Irish Anglican Church, Parliament confined itself to the definite, exceptional, remediable grievance of a state being imposed upon a community of nonconformists and endowed out of their property; so, in the case of the Irish land, Parliament is invited to redress the definite, exceptional and remedial grievance that in Ireland the tenant is too much at the mercy of the owner of the land.²⁷

The Gladstone Government approached the land problem against a background of demands from the Irish Catholic bishops, and violent demonstrations by tenant-farmers supported also by Catholic priests. Gladstone had hoped to ease this discontent by means of the Irish Land Bill which he introduced to Parliament on 15 February, 1870. The Irish Land Bill had three great provisions. One of these confirmed the Irish customs. Another provision made it possible for tenants to consider as their property whatever improvements they made on the land. A third principle provided that tenants, on being

²⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XIV (Report by Select Committee, Vol. VIII), (518), August, 1867, "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Tenure (Ireland) Bill," p. 564.

²⁷"Irish Land," The Saturday Review, XXVIII (1869), 656.

evicted, receive payment for damages.²⁸ Through The Times, Gladstone wrote a letter to Manning explaining that the policy of the Land Bill was "to prevent the landlord from using the terrible weapon of . . . eviction, by so framing the handle that it shall cut his hands with the sharp edge of pecuniary damages." Gladstone further stated:

The man evicted without any fault, and suffering the usual loss by it, will receive whatever the custom of the country gives, and where there is no custom, according to a scale, besides whatever he can claim for permanent buildings or reclamation of land. Wanton eviction will, as I hope, be extinguished by provisions like these. And if they extinguish wanton eviction, they will also extinguish those demands for unjust augmentations of rent, which are only formidable to the occupier, because the power of wanton or arbitrary eviction is behind them.²⁹

In addition to the legalization of the Ulster tenant-right, some purchase clauses, known sometimes as the "Bright Clauses," empowered the Board of Works to assist tenants with as much as two-thirds of the money they required for purchasing the land according to mutual agreement between them and the land-owners.

Thus, the Irish Land Bill of 1870 not only promised protection to some 60,000 tenant occupiers in Ireland, but made provision for converting tenants into owners. Hence, to a partial extent, the Bill endeavoured to establish a peasant proprietary. Of course, the possibility of the creation of a peasant proprietorship excited considerable interest. The

²⁸Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. II (1870), pp. 263-291, for the full text of the provisions of the Irish Land Act of 1870.

²⁹John Morley, op. cit., I, 928.

Blackwood's Magazine was rather critical in its comment on this: "It is obvious that it merely substitutes one class of landlords for another; the system would be unaltered."³⁰ This, however, was the hope of Cardinal Cullen, that some form of peasant proprietorship be created, although his concern for existing property rights made him less enthusiastic towards Bright's plans. And this was the promise held out by the Land Bill which recognized the principle of tenant ownership as well as that of tenant right.

At first, the Irish Land Bill was heartily received, but time was to prove otherwise. Lord Kimberley, Colonial Secretary, 1870-1874, noted in his Journal on 21 February, 1870:

The indiscriminating praise with which the Land Bill was received begins to cool down. In Ireland, as I expected, there is much disappointment. Gladstone now lives in the happy delusion that his policy will produce a speedy change in the temper of the Irish toward this country. He will soon find out his mistake.³¹

There was much truth in this prediction. The Bill was regarded by the landlords, on the one hand, as upsetting the status quo, and by the tenants, on the other hand, as an unsatisfactory attempt to settle the land problem.

Landlords in Ireland as well in England denounced the Land Bill as depriving them of property and privileges. The English landlords feared that concessions to tenant-right in

³⁰"The Land Question of Ireland," Blackwood's Magazine, CVI (November, 1869), 569.

³¹John, First Earl of Kimberley, A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874, ed. Ethel Drus (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1958), p. 11.

Ireland might encourage their tenants to make demands on them. Consequently the English landlords espoused the Irish landlords' cause. Businessmen, too, both in England and Ireland resented Gladstone's Irish land policy which they thought was not in harmony with free trade principles. Such men of business reasoned that to protect a tenant against his lord was just as harmful as protecting both against foreign competition.

Even the Irish Catholic Bishops who gave strong support to Gladstone at the outset, directed criticisms at the Land Bill after carefully studying it. They submitted to Archbishop Manning a number of amendments which they felt were very important if the Land Bill must be rendered effective. Manning wrote to Gladstone on 1 March, 1870, explaining the position of the Bishops:

They prefer for various reasons of their own to communicate through a channel which cannot be regarded as official, and they desire me to say that though they feel strongly and unanimously on the subjects mentioned in their note, they regard your measure as a great boon to Ireland, and the beginning of a new and happier state: They say that as the measure now stands they fear it cannot be regarded as a settlement of the question.³²

The memorandum attached to this note was drawn up by the Irish Catholic Bishops demanding security of tenure and judicially fixed rents. These two principles were important, for, as J. L. Hammond correctly recognized, "they included

³²The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. MS. 44249, f. 141; Manning to Gladstone, 1 March, 1870, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 397.

the provisions that became law in [the Land Act of] 1881."³³

The tenants themselves soon discovered that while the Land Bill sought to give them protection from the worst kinds of evictions, it had not secured to them fixity of tenure and fair rents. They contemplated the possibility of the evasion of the provisions of the Land Bill by some landlords who could simply raise rent. It would then be easy to evict tenants who could not pay. Nor would such tenants receive compensation, for the Bill provided that compensation be given to tenants evicted for any other cause besides non-payment of rent. Tenants viewed with alarm this unpleasant situation associated with the Land Bill.

The Queen's remark concerning the Government's treatment of the land problem was rather conservative. She held that Gladstone had taken only a one-sided view of what had caused the trouble. Her letter to Gladstone on 29 January, 1870, expressed sympathy for the landlords:

The only thing the Queen would wish to remark is - the apparent want of sympathy for the landlords. It does not seem quite fair to impute to the landlord class the entire blame of the present state of things. . . . The Queen would therefore have liked, when the insecurity of tenure is spoken of on one hand as a grievance to the occupier of the soil, that the lawless determination neither to pay rent nor to suffer eviction should have been denounced on the other, as a violation of the right of property which could not be allowed for a moment.³⁴

³³J. L. Hammond, Gladstone and the Irish Nation (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 103.

³⁴The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, ed. Philip Guedalla, (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1933), I, 217, Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone, 29 January, 1870.

Sharp reactions to the Irish Land Bill came even from some members of Gladstone's own Cabinet. They were, for a while, reluctant to accept the new principle of the Bill which made it possible for the tenant to receive compensation on being evicted. So far, members of the Cabinet were only prepared to agree to the principle that featured in previous Bills allowing the tenant to be compensated for his own improvements. Gladstone presented very strong arguments to his colleagues. He managed to win their approval, even if he did not quite convince them. This was no mean victory. For, as J. L. Hammond observed, "the recognition of a right to compensation for disturbance or . . . the recognition of occupation as a form of property, was in principle a remarkable step forward."³⁵

Other adverse reactions failed to discourage Mr. Gladstone. When a joint delegation from the National Association and the Tenant League approached him on 5 March, 1870, expressing their dissatisfaction with the Irish Land Bill, he boldly told them that his Government could not "carry exceptional legislation in the case of Ireland to a point which was calculated to produce a rupture of our social relations."³⁶ Gladstone stood firmly. The Catholic hierarchy became aware of this and mindful of his meaningful efforts. They then expressed at least moderate satisfaction with the Land Bill. Gladstone seemed grateful for this as well as for Cullen's

³⁵J. L. Hammond, op. cit., p. 99.

³⁶The Times, 7 March, 1870, p. 6.

assurance and encouragement.

But the reaction of the English Protestants to the Vatican Council (1869-1870) produced an undesirable situation for the Gladstone Ministry. As the Council moved closer to the definition of Papal Infallibility, the English Protestants became more bitterly opposed to concessions to the Catholics. Gladstone expressed fear of the effect of the Council on the Government's position in connection with the Land Bill. He wrote to Manning on 16 April, 1870: "From the commencement of the Council I have feared the consequences of . . . extreme proceedings upon the progress of just legislation here."³⁷ Bishop Furlong, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, in a public letter, expressed doubt in the effectiveness of the Land Bill. In fact, in Gladstone's view expressed to Manning, Furlong's letter had "the effect of associating the Irish Land Bill with the ultramontane claims of the Roman Council."³⁸ This idea further exasperated the English Protestants.

On 29 March, 1870, Mr. C. N. Newdegate, M. P. for Warwickshire, moved a successful motion for a Select Committee for the Inspection of Conventual and Monastic Institutions.³⁹ Gladstone sent a note to C. W. Russell, the President of Maynooth College, with the explanation that "the Government did

³⁷D. C. Lathbury, Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone (London: John Murray, 1910), II, 52.

³⁸The Gladstone Papers, B. M. Add. MS. 44249, f. 152. Gladstone to Manning, 16 April, 1870, as quoted by F. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 402.

³⁹Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CC (1870), 872.

not have the power to prevent the inquiry."⁴⁰ The Irish Catholics did not seem unduly worried about the inspection, however. Odo Russell, Assistant Under Secretary at the British Foreign Office, hinted in a note to Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, that the Bishops seemed rather to welcome the opportunity to make their grievances known. Russell said that the bishops did not really mind the Government inquiry into their Monastic institutions because they delighted in a grievance, and would "make the most of it to turn the sympathies persecution awakens to their account."⁴¹ Surely, they had a grievance - that associated with higher education. Thus, the reactions and counter-reactions to the Irish Land Bill had brought the Gladstone Ministry face to face with the still more difficult question of University education in Ireland.

Intense Catholic agitation for an improved system of higher education in Ireland dates from 1865. Prior to this time the Irish population on the whole apparently genuinely recognized and appreciated the work of the University of Dublin or Trinity College in the education of eminent Irish men. Although this was a Protestant institution, Catholics were admitted to its degrees. It had a distinguished place among the institutions of higher learning in Europe. It provided such training as enabled Irishmen to aspire to positions of the highest rank at the Bar as well as in medicine. William

⁴⁰C. W. Russell Papers, Gladstone to Russell, 19 April, 1870, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 401.

⁴¹The Clarendon Papers, C. 487, f. 166, Russell to Clarendon, 10 April, 1870, as quoted by E. R. Norman, loc. cit.

Plunket, who became Anglican Archbishop of Dublin in 1884, asserted in the House of Commons in 1870, that a good many Roman Catholics who occupied the highest official and judicial posts in Ireland received their education and training in Trinity College, Dublin.⁴² In 1873, The Quarterly Review stated that Trinity College, "during the three centuries of its existence has supplied the educational wants of the Irish people with remarkable efficiency."⁴³

It should not be construed, however, that the Irish Catholics were completely satisfied with the education situation. They had been merely complaisant about it. The drastic change in Irish opinion was created by the coming of Cardinal Cullen as Archbishop of Dublin in 1862. Cullen soon pronounced as not worthy to receive the sacraments of the Catholic Church those parents and guardians who allowed their children to attend the Queen's colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway. These three colleges comprising the Queen's University founded in 1845, were entirely unsectarian. Opposition from time to time, came from Anglican Protestants as well as from the Roman Catholics. However, under the influence of Cullen, Moriarty in his Pastoral on Education in March, 1862, denounced the Queen's Colleges as "godless and graceless institutions," adding that they "represent the indifferentism and infidelity

⁴²Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CC (1870), 1099.

⁴³"The Ministry and University Education in Ireland," The Quarterly Review, CXXXIV (January & April, 1873), 259.

of modern society."⁴⁴ Catholic dissatisfaction then grew apace.

The Irish Catholics saw themselves at a great disadvantage in the existing system of higher education. The Catholic University in Dublin, established in 1825, which many Catholics attended, was maintained by subscriptions; but it was not chartered and could not confer degrees. The Catholics desired their own chartered and endowed university equal in all respects to Trinity College. In 1866, in their memorial to Sir George Grey, former Home Secretary, the Irish Catholic Bishops pointed to the 6,360 Roman Catholics receiving higher education in Ireland. These, the Bishops emphasized, obtained such education on unfair terms as their degrees from the Catholic University were not legally recognized.⁴⁵ Catholic medical and law students who did not attend Trinity College or the Queen's University on account of religious convictions could not advance with the same ease and rapidity as the Anglican Protestants. The Catholics were especially upset by the exclusive control of Trinity College by members of the Irish Anglican Church.

On 20 June, 1865, The O'Donoghue, M. P. for Tipperary, moved in the Commons that Her Majesty be presented with an

⁴⁴E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 79, as quoted from Freeman, 11 March, 1862.

⁴⁵Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 1V (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVIII), (84), March, 1866. "Memorials addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Roman Catholic Prelates in Ireland on the Subject of University and National Education in Ireland and of the Correspondence relating thereto," p. 249.

address, bringing to her notice the conscientious objections of Roman Catholics to the system of University Education in Ireland. O'Donoghue said that the position of Catholics was "one of grievous inferiority."⁴⁶ He went on to show that while 600,000 Anglican Protestants had adequate arrangements for university training, over four and a half million Roman Catholics did not enjoy any such privileges. In Belfast the total number of students was 405, of whom there were only 22 Catholics; in Cork there were 123 Catholics out of a total of 263; in Galway there were in all 169 students, the Catholics numbering 78; and in Trinity College there were only 45 Catholic students among the one thousand enrolled. Of an aggregate of 1,837 students registered in the legally recognized colleges, 268 were Catholics.⁴⁷ O'Donoghue thought that the remedy for this ill-balanced situation would be the granting of a Charter to the Catholic University in Dublin giving it the power to confer degrees.

The Irish Catholic Bishops made it clear in 1869, that they considered that the Catholic people of Ireland had a right to a university of their own, although they did not insist that recognition of this right was indispensable to the settlement of the University question. The Bishops would accept a National University on the London University model with the power to examine and confer degrees.⁴⁸ A distinct

⁴⁶Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CLXXX (1865), 542.

⁴⁷Ibid., 543.

⁴⁸The Nation, IX (September, 1869), 242.

Catholic College must be affiliated to it, both Catholics and Protestants alike must share in University honours and emoluments, and there must be proper representation of Catholics in the Senate. This demand was important in the long struggle to resolve the university education question in Ireland.

Nor were the Catholic laity silent on this matter. On 30 March, 1870, they issued a declaration in which they attacked the existing system of education. They insisted that it was the constitutional right of all British subjects to choose their own form of Collegiate or University Education. The declaration ended with the demand:

That we therefore demand such a change in the system of Collegiate and University education as will place those who entertain these conscientious objections on a footing of equality with the rest of their fellow countrymen, as regards Colleges, University honours and emoluments, University Examinations, government and representation.⁴⁹

These charges and demands could not be ignored, and were indeed to have some influence on the course of action Gladstone would take. For the situation so deplored by the Catholics had hardly changed in the 1870's. It is true that Gladstone had hoped that the position of Trinity College would become affected in some way by the Irish Church Act of 1869. But he was disappointed. The religious tests at Trinity College remained despite the promise to abolish them after the Irish Church Act became law in 1869. Henry Fawcett, M. P. for Brighton, made attempts between 1870 and 1873 to do away

⁴⁹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. LIV (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV), (140), March, 1870, "Declaration of the Catholic Laity of Ireland on the Subject of University Education in that Country," p. 645.

with the religious tests and failed. There was no doubt that the Catholics objected to these tests.

Gladstone seemed anxious to do something about the predominant position of Trinity College at the time of the Irish Church Act of 1869. He was well aware that Protestant ascendancy in education was causing great concern among the Catholics. On 29 March, 1869, Gladstone wrote to Fortescue:

I should be glad to know whether we could now take in hand the framing of a measure with regard to Trinity College, as a definite movement. . . . I conclude we should neutralize the University and seize on its behalf a large part of its endowments leaving to the College as a denominational institution a portion of them for its own purposes.⁵⁰

This plan was not followed up, and the old evils remained.

Catholic dissatisfaction with the system of higher education in Ireland mounted, and their demands grew in proportion.

Matters became even more complicated as the Catholics pressed for a consideration of the whole system of education in Ireland rather than the university education problem alone. The Catholics complained that conditions in their schools at both primary and secondary level were quite unsatisfactory. Public funds were used only very sparingly for the maintenance of these schools. Consequently, the school buildings were old and dilapidated, their school supplies inadequate for the most part, and their teachers poorly qualified and badly paid. The Catholics resented having their children taught by Anglican teachers whom they feared would convert them to Protestantism.

⁵⁰The Carlington Papers, CP 1/41, Gladstone to Fortescue, 29 March, 1869, as quoted by E. R. Norman, op. cit., p. 373.

It was for this reason that the Irish Catholics treasured highly the educational work carried on by the Christian Brothers, a lay order of Catholic teachers, established by Edmund Rice in 1804. The Irish Catholic hierarchy were satisfied that the Brothers were conscientiously trying to impart to the young Catholic minds the correct impressions resulting from both secular and religious knowledge. The Irish Ursuline and Presentation Orders, founded by Nano Nagle at the close of the eighteenth century, and other orders, were responsible for the Catholic education of girls. Almost every one of the convents in Ireland in 1868 conducted educational programmes. There were 146 convents and the 112 conventual and monastic schools connected to the National Board in 1859, received some form of grant-in-aid.

No proper secondary education was provided for Catholics who considered it unfair in the light of the advantages enjoyed by the Protestant endowed schools. A Royal Commission, appointed to examine the Irish endowed schools concluded that Catholic conditions could not be met by simply rearranging the existing endowments for Irish intermediate education. The Irish Catholic Bishops were not at all pleased with certain portions of the Commissioners' Report such as this:

The provision for local management would enable the trustees to make suitable regulations for religious instruction, provided that the school, as a condition of its partaking of the grant of public money, admit of the united education of persons of all religious persuasions; and provided also, that the local managers be subject to the direct control of

the proposed Board of Commissioners of Endowed Schools.⁵¹

The Bishops desired separate Catholic schools.

The 1859 Commissioners' Report on National Education in Ireland revealed the extent of mixed education in National Schools for the last quarter of that year. It showed that in schools run entirely by Protestants only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the Catholic children were given secular instruction as compared with $16\frac{7}{10}$ per cent of Protestant pupils under Catholic teachers.⁵² In 1870, the Powis Commission found that the National System of Education in Ireland was denominational to a very large extent and should, as such, receive legal recognition.

The Powis Commission made a survey of education in Ireland between 1868 and 1870. Their report is one of the most important historical documents in Irish education. A portion of the report dealt with religion, and recommendations were made accordingly. Roman Catholic children should not be present when religious instruction was taught by Protestants and vice versa. Children were not to be compelled to attend religious observances if their parents objected. Religious emblems should not be exhibited during school hours.⁵³ It was even proposed that grants be given to the Christian

⁵¹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol XXII, Part I, (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. V), [2336-I], February, 1858, "Endowed Schools, Ireland, Commission," p. 278.

⁵²Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XXVI, Part I, (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. IV), [2706], August, 1860, "The Twenty-sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (for the year 1859)," p. 29.

⁵³Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. XVII), C. 6, May, 1870, "Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland)," p. 526.

Brothers' Schools. The report was mildly welcomed in some Catholic circles while others continued to aim at a purely denominational system. Many Anglican Protestants were opposed to the report on the grounds that it would undermine the mixed system and strengthen the denominational system. Gladstone seemed concerned about such feelings and did nothing about the Powis Commission recommendations. As a result, the Irish Catholics put less confidence in his Government.

Early in February, 1873, William Monsell, M. P. for Limerick, presented a petition from the leading Catholics as well as some Protestants, for giving consideration to education at the preparatory and not only university level. But Gladstone paid little or no attention to the petition. The petitioners did not push the matter any further, however, particularly as they became interested in the motion introduced by Fawcett for abolishing tests at Trinity College.⁵⁴ Gladstone remained firm in his refusal to deal with the entire education question, and when the House met on the 13 February, 1873, to consider Irish University Education, he intimated that anything pertaining to other branches of education "must arise as a necessary consequence" of any action taken on the Universities.⁵⁵ The plans of the Irish Catholic Bishops for including lesser demands were thus forestalled. Gladstone was now fully conscious of the increasing complexities of the education question. He then presented the provisions

⁵⁴Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCXIV (1873), 177.

⁵⁵Ibid., 379.

of the Irish University Education Bill. This, he claimed, was "a measure solely of the Government,"⁵⁶ as the governing body of Trinity College had interested itself in Fawcett's motion, and there was no consultation with the Catholic Bishops. "The principle was the old formula of mixed or united education in which Protestants and Catholics might side by side participate,"⁵⁷ Morley wrote.

For a very short time the Bill seemed to have had a favourable reception. Justin McCarthy stated that "this scheme looked plausible and even satisfactory for the moment," and that for the first night it received "something like a chorus of approval from those who spoke."⁵⁸ It was not long, however, before the most adverse reaction set in. Catholics and Anglicans alike, Nonconformists and Presbyterians denounced the Bill. It was evident that this kind of reaction would follow even before the Bill was introduced. Lord Kimberley noted in his Journal, 1 January, 1873:

I doubt whether we shall weather the Irish University question. From the first formation of the government we have always foreseen that this question was the rock ahead on which we might make shipwreck. Steer as we will, the danger is great, as it appears to be absolutely impossible to reconcile the pretensions of our Nonconformist & Roman Catholic supporters.⁵⁹

This statement had foundation. On 9 March, 1873, Cardinal

⁵⁶Ibid., 381.

⁵⁷John Morley, op. cit., II, 46.

⁵⁸Justin McCarthy, A History of Our Own Times (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1881), IV, 316.

⁵⁹Lord Kimberley, op. cit., p. 35.

Cullen issued a pastoral letter to all the Catholic Churches condemning the measure. He said that the Bill richly endowed non-catholic and godless colleges, provided nothing for Catholics, thus "inviting them to compete in their poverty, produced by penal laws and confiscations, with those left in possession of enormous wealth."⁶⁰

On 24 February, 1873, Resolutions were passed by the Standing Committee (on Trinity College) of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church. The Resolutions approved the separation of the theological faculty from the University of Dublin and from Trinity College as proposed in the Bill. They also expressed the desire to see Trinity College open her doors to all, so that everyone of Her Majesty's subjects regardless of creed or sect might benefit from its secular advantages. But the Resolutions concluded:

We object to the recognition by the State of denominational colleges, as part of a national system of University Education, and to the affiliation of such colleges with the University of Dublin. We object to the representation of denominational colleges, as such, on the council of the University of Dublin.⁶¹

Both Trinity College and the Catholic University objected to the provision allowing for the affiliation of colleges in any part of Ireland to the new University of Dublin. Trinity College protested on the ground that the affiliation of small provincial schools or colleges would

⁶⁰John Morley, op. cit., II, 51.

⁶¹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. LII (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV), (115), March, 1873, "Resolutions of the Standing Committee on Trinity College of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church on the Subject of the Irish University Bill," p. 491.

result in a lowering of standard, for it would be necessary to accommodate academically the weakest of these.⁶² The Catholic University, on the other hand, feared, as stated in its petition, that many parents would keep their children in the provincial schools, and this would make it difficult for the Catholic University to compete with its "richly endowed and numerous attended rivals." The survival of the Catholic University would then be at stake.⁶³ The Catholic objections in this respect were prompted mainly by the provisions which made it possible for students not enrolled in a college to take a University degree.

The Irish Catholic hierarchy were bitterly opposed to the Bill. In an interview with Cardinal Cullen on 25 February, 1873, at Dublin Castle, Lord Spencer, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1868-1874), discovered that Cardinal Cullen was quite hostile to the continuance of the Queen's Colleges, the continued large endowment to Trinity College while the Catholic University still received no form of assistance or endowment, and the possible perpetuation of the mixed system of education. Cullen expressed to Spencer that the measure was the direct opposite of what the Catholics had hoped for, and that they would not be satisfied with anything less than guaranteed sums of money for redressing inequality and erecting new buildings.⁶⁴

⁶²"The Irish University Bill," The Saturday Review, XXXV (March, 1873), 264.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴John Morley, op. cit., II, 48.

Various groups condemned the same Bill for various reasons. While the Roman Catholics thought that the Bill had not gone far enough, the Nonconformists felt that it went too far. The proposal to endow denominational education made them quite angry. The Anglican Protestants resented the destruction of the historic University of Dublin. Men of learning and culture could not tolerate the idea of a national university without chairs in modern history and moral philosophy. The university, in their view, could not then be considered complete. Moreover, it was argued that if these subjects were excluded from the university curriculum the value of the Dublin honours would, as a result be lower than those of the English universities. Such was the diverse reaction to the Irish University Bill of 1873, the aim of which was, as Gladstone expressed to the Queen, "to reform University Education in Ireland, for the removal of grievances, and the advancement of learning."⁶⁵ The reaction had brought on a state of affairs which the Queen said in a note to Gladstone was "not very favourable as regards the Irish University Bill."⁶⁶ The situation was critical indeed.

Sir Spencer Walpole pictured it well:

Three out of every four in Ireland would solve the problem by instituting a new university, endowed out of public funds and placed under exclusively Roman Catholic management. Three persons out of every four in Great Britain would turn out any Ministry which proposed to endow a Roman Catholic

⁶⁵ The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, 1845-1879, ed. Philip Guedalla (2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, 1933), I, 391, Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria, 1 February, 1873.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 392-393.

institution. There is no possible compromise between these opposite views. The conscience of the Nonconformists in England and of the Presbyterians in Scotland is opposed to the only remedy which the conscience of the Roman Catholic in Ireland will accept.⁶⁷

It is interesting to note that while Cullen, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland would have the Bill rejected, Manning, head of the Roman Catholic Church in England, was favourably disposed to it. Gladstone was quite upset by this frustration of his efforts. But perhaps he could find solace in the words of Manning who wrote to him on 12 March, 1873: "This is not your fault, nor the Bill's fault, but the fault of England and Scotland and three anti-Catholic centuries."⁶⁸

⁶⁷Sir Spencer Walpole, The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856-1880 (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1908), III, 260.

⁶⁸John Morley, op. cit., II, 48.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS HOME RULE

The implementation of Gladstone's Irish policy was much hampered by the impatience of Irishmen. The demand for the release of Fenian prisoners and the growing movement for Home Rule complicated Gladstone's task; so too did massive resentment of the Coercion Acts imposed by his government. Gladstone's troubles, however, were not entirely Irish in origin.

Prominent among his frustrations was the negative attitude of the Queen. Gladstone believed that an extension of royal influence would help restore peace and stability to that divided land. To accomplish this, he proposed two schemes. The first was the establishment of a royal residence in Ireland to which the Queen would make visits alternately with Balmoral Castle in Scotland. The second was to do away with the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and to appoint as Viceroy the Prince of Wales, who would be aided by a responsible Secretary of State. But these plans did not gain royal favour and approval. The Queen did not welcome these suggestions which Gladstone appealed to her to consider seriously. Her reply to Gladstone was very tactful. General Grey, the Queen's Secretary, wrote to Gladstone on 8 January, 1869, explaining that while Her Majesty considered

the offer "very liberal and noble indeed," there were "many considerations on the other hand, opposed to the establishment of a fixed Royal Residence in Ireland." Grey pointed out that "it would in the first place entail an expense to keep it up," and that "suffering as Her Majesty does at sea, the necessity of having to cross the Channel would alone make this impossible."¹

Gladstone was quite persistent in this matter. Philip Magnus states that he "wanted to make the Queen do her duty, as he saw it, and to find suitable employment for the Prince of Wales."² The Queen's seclusion since the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, and her demands on Parliament for large sums for the upkeep of her family, had brought her much unpopularity. The feeling for republicanism was high as was evidenced by the speeches of Charles Dilke, M. P. for Chelsea, and Joseph Chamberlain who became Mayor of Birmingham in 1873. Gladstone was opposed to these views which were to take a dangerous turn. A republican demonstration expressing sympathy with the Paris Commune took place in April, 1871, and in February, 1872, an attempt to assassinate Queen Victoria failed.³ When, therefore, Gladstone set out his Irish plans for the Queen at their meeting

¹The Letters of Queen Victoria, 1862-1878, ed. George Buckle (2 vols; London: John Murray, 1926), I, 576.

²Philip Magnus, Gladstone, A Biography (London: John Murray, 1954), p. 207.

³Frank Hardie, The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901 (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1963), pp. 207 and 214.

at Windsor on 25 June, 1871, he warned that it was not to be regarded by any means completely pertaining to the Irish question, "but as likely to be of great utility in strengthening the Throne under circumstances that require all that can be done in that sense."⁴ It was all to no avail as the Queen flatly rejected his royalty scheme for Ireland.

But while Gladstone was endeavouring to bring Ireland more positively under the influence of the English Crown and Parliament, the Irish themselves were moving in the opposite direction. They desired Home Rule, and this indirectly because of, and in spite of, Gladstone's Irish policy. It is true that the Irish policy was not the real cause of the demand for Home Rule. Many Irishmen had always had this goal uppermost in their minds. The Irish Parliamentary Party represented the Home Rule movement in the Imperial Parliament. F. Hugh O'Donnell wrote:

The Home Rule movement had its immediate causes in two consequences of the Fenian conspiracy, one being the revelation of the idea of rejection of British law, and the other being the intensity of the feelings of sympathy and anger which were generally excited by the trials and punishment of the prisoners engaged in the conspiracy and the attempt at insurrection.⁵

To these must be added dissatisfaction with Gladstone's Irish policy which had kindled the old fire of discontent with English rule which burnt in the heart of the Irish for many generations.

⁴Philip Magnus, op. cit., p. 209.

⁵F. Hugh O'Donnell, A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1910), I, 4.

Gladstone wanted to see Irish wrongs righted but not at the cost of destroying the Union which was very dear to his heart. His efforts so far had only whetted the appetite of the Irish, however. Their aspirations were only partially fulfilled by the changes wrought by the Irish Church Act of 1869 and the Irish Land Act of 1870. The only remedy for the ills of Ireland, they held, was to allow the Irish to conduct their own affairs. This was the attitude of a very large number of Irish Anglican Protestants. They disapproved of the disestablishment of their Church, and consequently had neither love nor appreciation for Gladstone or for anything he stood for. They lost faith in the Imperial Parliament as well as in the English political parties. Thus Justin McCarthy stated that "partly in a petulant mood, partly in despondency, partly out of genuine patriotic impulse, some of the Irish Protestants set going the movement for Home Rule."⁶ Very strongly, they advocated that it was time that all Irishmen, regardless of sect or party, unite their efforts and confide in themselves rather than in the English government.

Many of these Irish Anglican Protestants were die-hard Conservatives and Orangemen. Their pride was wounded by the success of the Liberals in several of the Irish boroughs as well as in Ulster in the 1868 election. The Times remarked that "the armour of Ulster conservatism, hitherto deemed impenetrable, has been shattered."⁷ The Ulster Protestants

⁶Justin McCarthy, A History of Our Own Times (Chicago: Belford, Clarke and Co., 1881), IV, 310.

⁷The Times, 23 November, 1868, p. 4.

then conceived the possibility and probability of disestablishment and disendowment, and decided that they would associate their efforts with the Home Rulers after 1870 if England disappointed their political hopes. This was no idle threat. When the members of the Grand Orange Lodge met in February, 1871, twenty-one out of thirty-nine of them present voted in favour of revoking a fundamental law which forbade the society to advocate Repeal of the Union, although the idea was given up because of failure to muster the necessary two-thirds majority.⁸

This new stand taken by the Orangemen caused some anxiety. They had always been proud of the union of Ireland with England which they firmly supported: to them it was worth any sacrifice. In their eyes the Irish Anglican Establishment and the Union were very closely connected, and to destroy that establishment was to destroy the Union. Mitchell Henry, the Protestant magnate of Manchester once said:

It was a principle of the Act of Union that the Protestant Church should never be disestablished. By the disestablishment of the Protestant Church, the Act of Union has been broken by English statesmen with as little concern as if it had been a Turnpike Bill or a Railway Bill.⁹

There was something to say for the line of reasoning to which the Irish Protestants adhered. After the English had successfully put down the Irish rebellion of 1798, the English Government under William Pitt, the younger, thought that a

⁸"Irish Federalism", The Edinburgh Review, CXXXIII (April, 1871), 513.

⁹F. Hugh O'Donnell, op. cit., I, 19.

closer and more formal union between Great Britain and Ireland would be in the better interest of both countries. Accordingly, the Act of Union was drawn up to effect this. It received the Royal Assent on 2 July, 1800.¹⁰ The fifth article of the Act provided "that the Churches of England and Ireland as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church," and also "that the doctrine, worship and government of the said United Church shall be and shall remain in full force forever."¹¹ This was considered an "essential and fundamental part of the Union." When, therefore, disestablishment came about in 1869, the Irish Protestants felt, as The Edinburgh Review noted, "basely betrayed and shamefully deserted by the English government," and that "they need no further arguments to convince them that a connexion with England is no longer desirable."¹²

The attitude of the Irish Protestants toward the Union at this time greatly pleased the Irish Nationalists. This was what they were waiting for. It is interesting to note that some Nationalists believed that disestablishment was not without blessing. They concluded that the proper management of the Church funds by the Representative Church Body was a wonderful object lesson in the direction of Home Rule. Fear was expressed for the outcome of a combination

¹⁰Great Britain, Parliamentary Debates, LXXXII (1800), 230.

¹¹Ibid., LXXXI (1800), 561.

¹²"Irish Federalism," The Edinburgh Review, CXXXIII (April, 1871), 513.

between the Irish Protestants and the Nationalists. The Nation warned of the serious difficulty in which England would be placed "should the Irish Protestants throw their weight into the Nationalist scales, . . . which they have not done since 1782."¹³ And this is just what was taking place. For the resentment of the Act of Union was based on the Irish Nationalist conviction that from the beginning the Act was completely illegal and should be voided. It is important to note that Isaac Butt, the Irish lawyer, and leader of the Home Rule movement, was himself a Protestant.

Many Catholics, for their own ends, also linked disestablishment with the dissolution of the Union. In the heart of the Catholics lay a deep-rooted hatred for English rule and a longing for Irish independence. At a meeting of the priests of Limerick in January, 1868, Dean Richard O'Brien, who presided, issued a Declaration for the repeal of the Union.¹⁴ When the Catholic priests met again on 20 January, O'Brien said that 198 of them had signed the Declaration. The resolution passed at the second meeting demanded an Irish national legislature.¹⁵ O'Brien had associated disestablishment with the nationalist sentiment. This fact was pointed out in the speech of the Irish Attorney General, Warren, in Parliament on 31 March, 1868. The Attorney General quoted from O'Brien's Limerick speech that "the Church established

¹³ The Nation, X (May, 1870), 297.

¹⁴ The Times, 2 January, 1868, p. 6.

¹⁵ Ibid., 23 January, 1868, p. 10.

by law is a premium to anti-national sentiment," and "we shall make more Irishmen by the Repeal of the Union between Church and State than we have lost by five years of emigration."¹⁶ It was evident then that the Catholics looked beyond a mere settlement of the Church question. Warren further quoted O'Brien as saying, "everyone knows that our Bishops will be with us when the time comes, for none love Ireland better."¹⁷

Of course, as O'Brien hinted, it would be a little time before the whole Catholic hierarchy declared for Home Rule. Indeed, many of them refused to identify themselves with the agitation at the outset. Cullen himself was quite opposed to the movement which he ridiculed in 1869, as the "bubble of a moment."¹⁸ Most of the Irish Catholic hierarchy preferred to continue their alliance with the Liberals, if only for a while, as a sign of gratitude for the Irish Church Act, and in hopeful anticipation for a satisfactory settlement of the University education question.

In the meantime, a few Irish Catholic bishops and a large number of the lower clergy sought to aid the Home Rule Movement at the by-elections. An inquiry into the Galway election of 6 February, 1872, revealed that undue influence was exerted by the Catholic priesthood to secure the return

¹⁶Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CXCI (1868), 644.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Quoted by Gladstone in a letter to Granville on 4 November, 1873, The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876, ed. Agatha Ramm (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1952), II, 425.

of Captain Nolan, the Home Rule candidate who was later unseated. Judge Keogh in his report said that "a system of intimidation prevailed" and that the voters in all parts of the county, "were on the day of the polling, systematically conducted to the booths by the Roman Catholic clergy, who interfered actively in such polling."¹⁹ And the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Spencer, reported to the Queen after the election that the "Catholic priesthood supported the Home Rule candidate with all the violence which they can use on occasions with great effect."²⁰ But only at elections did these bishops and lower clergy show any real enthusiasm for Home Rule. They were conscious of the divided Catholic opinion on this matter at this time and were fearful of a split among themselves. They therefore cautiously avoided becoming too involved as they looked forward to obtain further concessions from the Gladstone Government.

Almost the same kind of inconsistency and uncertainty characterized the attitude of the Irish Landlords toward the budding Home Rule movement. They were by no means pleased with the purchase clauses of the Irish Church Act which they looked upon as an attempt to transfer property to the peasants. Since then, they questioned whether they could rely on the English to safely guarantee their privileges. Their doubts found expression in the militant Tories who strongly urged

¹⁹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. XLVIII (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIII), (241-I), June, 1872, "The Galway Election: Judgment, Report and Evidence," p. 74..

²⁰The Letters of Queen Victoria, 1862-1878, ed. George Earle Buckle (2 vols; London: John Murray, 1926), II, 191.

the Lords to reject the Irish Church Bill, and who were sadly disappointed when the Lords agreed to the measure.

The fears and doubts of the landlords were accentuated by the passage of the Irish Land Act of 1870 with which they were greatly dissatisfied. The best answer, they thought, was Home Rule which could be a means of securing political leadership to them and protecting them from the seeming harmful effects of English democracy. But the landlords were not united in their outlook. Some, particularly those who constituted the Landlord element of the Irish Parliamentary or Home Rule party, gave full voice to Home Rule. Others, full of Tory sympathies were more cautious in their approach. These last, dreaded any further agrarian revolution. And this explains why several landlords gave their support to the Conservative candidate, E. le Poer Trench, rather than to Captain Nolan in the 1872 Galway election. For Nolan, as David Thornley observed, "was as much a symbol of tenant-right as of home rule."²¹ Some landlords also joined the Catholic bishop, Dr. Moriarty, in opposing Rowland Blennerhasset, the successful Home Rule candidate in the Kerry election of 1872.

In this matter of tenant-right lay the difference in the thinking of the landlords and tenant leaders with regard to Home Rule. The Irish Land Act had displeased both groups although the tenant leaders seemed more discontented. While the landlords murmured that too much had been attempted in the way of tenant-right, the tenant-leaders felt that not

²¹David Thornley, Isaac Butt and Home Rule (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1964), p. 134.

enough had been done in that direction. The one group welcomed Home Rule but no further concessions to tenants, the other would have Home Rule in order to obtain more rights for tenants. It was this latter which provided the real spark for the nationalistic drive toward autonomy. Dean O'Brien of Limerick voiced the sentiments of many Irishmen when he wrote to Isaac Butt in February, 1870:

A new land bill is impossible - in this generation; and the present bill is useless for the end it should have contemplated. Landlords and statesmen have only one chance of saving us from coming confusion, and that is to permit us to make our own laws.²²

In this connection David Thornley rightly observed that "the failure of the Land Bill to satisfy the demands of the tenant leaders," acted as "the signal for Butt to launch the agitation for self-government which up to then he had cautiously deferred."²³

Isaac Butt became President of the Irish Tenant League in September, 1869. Even before Gladstone introduced his Land Act, the league had kept up its pressing demand for fixity of tenure and valuation of rents. When the Land Bill failed to meet the expectations of the league, Butt declared that it could not be very long "when a separate Irish Parliament might be, in the best sense of the word, a conservative

²²Dean O'Brien to Butt, 17 February, 1870, Butt MSS, as quoted by David Thornley, op. cit., p. 82.

²³David Thornley, op. cit., p. 83.

element in the British Constitution."²⁴ Again, he said that it was possible that the time would soon come when Irishmen might wish "that we had in Ireland a Parliament and a Government which an English revolution could not touch."²⁵ These statements were full of meaning for future action.

At a special meeting of the Irish Tenant League in Tipperary on 14th December, 1869, Butt proposed "a resolution to the effect that no reform would satisfy the people so long as the political prisoners remained in custody."²⁶ Thus side by side with the movement for land reform went the demands and appeals for the amnesty of the Fenian political prisoners. Butt had set his hands to both. He was elected president of the Amnesty Association in 1869, and endeavoured to make its aims and objectives one with those of the Irish Tenant League. This was difficult, for co-operation between the two movements was lacking, and clashes were not infrequent. Butt would always advocate that the cause of one must be the cause of the other. He firmly believed that Irish nationalism was the central theme of both movements.

At the end of 1869, land reform and amnesty had become the pivots for organized agitation in Ireland. Everywhere there were meetings and land reform demonstrations. All this affected the effectiveness of Gladstone's Land Act in

²⁴Isaac Butt on Irish Federalism (1874 ed.), p. 39, as quoted by Eric Strauss, Irish Nationalism and British Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 155.

²⁵Ibid., p. 56, as quoted by Eric Strauss, loc. cit.

²⁶Ibid., p. 78.

particular and his Irish policy in general. For even though the Land Bill became law, it was rejected by Butt and the Tenant League and other Irish popular leaders, including Gray and Dean O'Brien. And these were among the foremost advocates of Home Rule as the only remedy for Ireland. In addition, Gladstone's refusal of amnesty to the Fenian political prisoners not only undermined his Irish policy, but also helped to strengthen the demand for self-government. "The denial of amnesty," wrote David Thornley, "struck the first blow at the great position which Gladstone had built up in Ireland."²⁷ The amnesty agitators reacted by passing the Limerick Association resolution in November, 1869, calling upon Butt and other leaders to find some way of establishing a national parliament for Ireland.

But perhaps it is hard to see what other course Gladstone could have taken in the light of the nature of the Fenian activities. They engaged in assassinations and nightly attacks on dwellings. The Government held that a general pardon of all the prisoners might not only be interpreted as a sign of weakness or fear on its part, but might also encourage more such outrages. Consequently, only forty-nine of the eighty-one prisoners were released. This did not make the situation any better. The Fenians who had always aspired to a forceful overthrow of English rule and the setting up of an Irish Republic became even more intent on their purpose. Considering that their position for armed

²⁷Ibid., p. 78.

revolt against England was weak, they therefore decided to go along with Butt's plan for achieving their goal through constitutional means.

Fenian activities became closely linked with the agrarian crime of the countryside. In fact, it was from such expressions of dissatisfaction that the Fenians gained new strength and power. Agrarian outrages which were a marked feature of the 1860's, were not abated by the Irish Land Act of 1870. Demands mounted for strong action against the perpetrators of crimes. But Gladstone was quite cautious in applying coercive measures to Ireland, and such an attitude caused great concern even among members of his Government. Kimberley noted on 2 March, 1870:

A strong feeling of dissatisfaction is growing up at the neglect of the Gov't to take more stringent measures for the repression of the agrarian crime which has reached a fearful height in some of the Irish counties, principally in Westmeath and Mayo. After seeing Granville . . . and pointing out to him the impossibility of persevering in the policy of doing nothing and trusting to the effect of our remedial measures, I went . . . to see Gladstone. . . . He argued passionately against all coercive measures ²⁸

Gladstone's unwillingness to use force in Ireland sprang, no doubt, from his original desire "to pacify Ireland," although Kimberley thought otherwise: "I suspect Gladstone's vehemence is greatly due to fear of losing Bright if a vigorous course is taken in this matter."²⁹ However, after

²⁸ John, First Earl of Kimberley, A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874, ed. Ethel Drus (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1958), p. 12.

²⁹ Ibid.

a careful review of the seriousness of the situation created by the agrarian disturbances, Gladstone gave way. A Coercion or Peace Preservation Act was passed in 1870 and another in 1871. The latter provided, against the wishes of Gladstone, for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Westmeath and surrounding areas by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; moreover, any suspect of Ribandism (i.e. opposition to Protestant ascendancy) who had been in Westmeath after 1 January, 1871, could be arrested in any part of Ireland.³⁰

A double reaction accompanied the enactment of these drastic measures. Many, including the Irish Catholic clergy, gladly welcomed them. Even before the first bill was passed, Lord Granville noted that a "large portion of the Irish would rejoice at any measure of apparent vigour. Not only the Protestants and landlords, but the Catholic clergy."³¹ Cullen himself as well as several Irish Catholic bishops were very happy for the provisions for suppressing seditious newspapers. On the other hand, the action of the Government came under great fire. Members of the Tenant League criticised the measures. It was held that Irish terrorism was traceable to the conditions which the British Government had created. All this put Gladstone in a very difficult position indeed. Inasmuch as the Land Act was passed about the same time, many

³⁰Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCV (1871), 1549.

³¹The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876, ed. Agatha Ramm (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1952), I, 90, Minute by Lord Granville, 2 February, 1870.

looked at his Irish policy as a mockery, with remedial measures on one hand and coercive measures on the other. Yet, together with the Land Act, the Peace Preservation Act seemed so effectual that the Government considered it safe to set free the remaining Fenian prisoners. Perhaps there was some ground for the contention of Lord Salisbury who maintained that "you must teach the Irish people to fear the law, before you can induce them to like it."³²

The Peace Preservation Act carried weighty implications with regard to the Irish policy of the Gladstone Ministry. Methods of pacification had not completely satisfied Irish discontent and tough methods were resented. It was a dilemma. Lord John Russell very fittingly described the situation when he said, "Your oppressions have taught the Irish to hate you, your concessions to brave you."³³ Sir Spencer Walpole also aptly commented on the passage of the Coercion Act:

The mere fact of its passage reflected on the whole Irish policy of the Ministry. Parliament had disestablished a Church and passed an Irish Land Act in the hope that Irish discontent would disappear on the removal of Irish wrongs; and Irish discontent was leading to new disorder and to the revival of old remedies. Whatever other results had ensued from the Acts of 1869 and 1870, it could not be pretended that they had satisfied the Home Rule Association.³⁴

³²The Annual Register, 1870, English History, p. 40.

³³J. Hammond, Gladstone and the Irish Nation (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 113.

³⁴Sir Spencer Walpole, The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856 - 1880 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), III, 133.

By this time the agitators for Home Rule had become completely exasperated. Displeasure over Gladstone's stand on the release of the Fenian prisoners and the Government's coercive measures was added to the dissatisfaction with the Irish Church and Land Acts. The result was an acceleration of their demand for Home Rule.

As a first step towards crystalizing their views, the Home Rulers assembled at the Bilton's Hotel in Dublin on 19 May, 1870. Here Isaac Butt formally announced the opening of the campaign for Home Rule. Many speeches were made, some of them quite conflicting. Butt himself proposed Irish federalism rather than a complete break with England. He wished to see a federal government established in which Ireland would manage her internal affairs and at the same time be fully represented in the Imperial Parliament. But this plan was frowned upon by the repealers and advanced nationalists who continued to clamour for complete separation. Still others argued strongly for a royal residence and a permanent viceroy in Ireland as a necessary prelude to any settlement. These divergent ideas thwarted the unity of the Home Rule movement for some time. It was even suggested that the Home Government Association be dissolved and a new organization formed. Developments in this direction were affected by the abortive settlement of the Irish University education question.

Immediately after, and as a result of the fiasco of the Irish University Bill of 1873, many who at first held aloof from the Home Rule movement were drawn into its ranks. These included members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and

clergy who were greatly disappointed with the bill, as well as prominent Liberals. A number of Catholic clergymen obtained membership in June, 1873. Shortly before the Bill was rejected, The Saturday Review predicted that with its failure, many of the Irish Roman Catholic Liberals would return to parliament as Home Rulers as they would conclude that there was "nothing, therefore, to be hoped from a new Ministry, whether Conservative or Radical."³⁵

The Irish Catholics had taken a serious view of the political manoeuvres which ended in the defeat of the Bill. They were aware of the Conservative position. They knew that Gladstone's attempt to abolish the teaching of mental and moral philosophy and modern history was to conciliate them, and they had taken careful note of Disraeli's criticism of this. Hence, although they had joined the Conservatives in voting against the bill there was yet an element of distrust. Nor did the Catholic members trust the Liberals, some of whom they thought were making only half-hearted efforts to satisfy their demands, while others upbraided Gladstone for his Catholic leanings. The Irish Catholics convinced themselves, therefore, that they should manage their own affairs in order to achieve their national desires.

At the outset, any attempt to fulfil their national aspirations through Home Rule received little or no support from the two major political parties. Gladstone was decidedly against Home Rule at first. When he spoke at Aberdeen in

³⁵"The Irish University Debate," The Saturday Review, XXXV (1873), 302.

September, 1871, he said, "I have looked in vain for the setting forth of any practical scheme of policy which is to be brought about by Home Rule."³⁶ Gladstone's objections even roused the ire of Butt and the other Home Rule members who joined the Conservatives in rejecting the Irish University Bill. The Conservatives did not welcome Home Rule either. According to Hugh O'Donnell, "when Mr. Disraeli . . . next addressed an electoral manifesto to the constituences, it was to appeal with awestruck tone for help, help, against the gathering perils across the Irish Sea."³⁷

The "gathering perils" which Disraeli feared were in the form of renewed and more intensified activities for Home Rule. All those who had hopefully anticipated a satisfactory settlement of the university question became frustrated and fell in line with the Home Rule movement. A great conference of Home Rulers was called on 18 November, 1873. At this conference of Home Rulers which was the most important since the movement began, Irishmen voiced their feelings and grievances, aired their opinions, and gave full expression to their desires for self-government. Butt succeeded in winning more support for his federal scheme. Resolutions were passed demanding home government for Ireland. The country stood united. Every section of Irish society was represented: there were present, deputy lieutenants, provincial aldermen, Trinity College professors, tenant-right farmers, doctors,

³⁶J. L. Hammond, op. cit., p. 118.

³⁷F. Hugh O'Donnell, op. cit., I, 89-90.

lawyers, journalists, landholders, engineers, shopkeepers and workmen.

A new association emerged from the conference. This was on the motion of George Bryan, M. P. for Kilkenny County, who suggested the name "Irish Home Rule League." The league was to be supported from subscriptions, and there was to be set up a special fund for promoting the organization in Great Britain and Ireland. Appeal was to be made to Irishmen in every land. There were three vital principles of the Home Rule League:

- (1) The restoration of the Irish parliament for Irish National affairs, together with the correlated insistence upon full representation of Ireland in Imperial affairs upon whatever Imperial Council governed the affairs of the Common Empire.
- (2) The absolute rejection of a one-chamber legislature and the absolute maintenance of the Irish House of Lords as inseparable from an Irish National Parliament.
- (3) The maintenance of absolute freedom from official organization or official intervention in every part of the national movement in Ireland.³⁸

Other principles included "guarantee against agrarian revolution and guarantee against sectarian ascendancy."³⁹

The last-mentioned principles were stated in Resolution VIII of the Conference:

That while we believe that in an Irish Parliament the rights and liberties of all classes of our countrymen would find their best and surest protection, we are willing that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no change should be made by that Parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland, and that no legislation shall be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in

³⁸Ibid., 59-60.

³⁹Ibid., 66.

Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions.⁴⁰

A careful examination of these principles would reveal that by 1873 the Home Rulers had contradicted themselves. It will be remembered that the Home Rule movement began with the professed displeasure of the Irish Protestants over the disestablishment of the Irish Anglican Church and the alleged dissatisfaction of the landlords and tenants with the Irish Land Act. Now, in 1873, the Home Rulers by their expressed desires for no change in the Church or land situation, indicated some satisfaction with the settlements effected by the Irish Church and Irish Land Acts. It seems fair to say, then, that the weaknesses of Gladstone's Irish policy were used as a pretext for launching the Home Rule movement. For the agitators were prepared for the leap in any event. This predetermination is seen in Dean O'Brien's letter to Isaac Butt in 1868:

In all cases it appears to me we ought to win; because the tendency to seek autonomy will grow equally by concession or disregard. . . . At any rate - every time - we are ready for our move. If we get too little, we move; if we get much we move more strongly; if we get nothing, we move instantly.⁴¹

But it might be argued that the plea of the Home Rulers that there be no change in the settlement of landed estates in Ireland was more a landlord than a tenant view. Butt and his followers still cherished a deep desire for further agrarian reform even though they did not seem to voice this too strongly at the conference. Everyone knew that they had made the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Dean O'Brien to Butt, 1868 (Undated), Butt MSS, as quoted by David Thornley, op. cit., p. 78.

fulfilment of the "three F's," fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale, the condition for full satisfaction. The Land Act of 1870 failed in this respect. But the Land Act of 1881 succeeded. Indeed the three F's constituted its basis, and the Government did all it could to see that the new Act was enforced. In answer to a question put to him in the Commons on 13 March, 1882, Mr. Forster, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, said that "the Government were taking steps" toward quickening and facilitating the fixing of judicial rents.⁴²

In the first three years of the operation of the Land Act of 1881 over 150,000 "fair rents" were fixed by the land and county courts with an average reduction of about twenty per cent.⁴³ As Eric Strauss has well said, the new land law "went far enough to remove the grievances of the larger tenants."⁴⁴ Yet the tenant leaders were not satisfied. The Land League, the new instrument of agrarian agitation founded by Michael Davitt in 1879, next raised the cry for no rent. Was it not, therefore, that Home Rule developments sprang more from a deep seated longing to be free from English rule than from a mere dissatisfaction with Gladstone's Irish policy? That policy had certainly been exploited for that purpose, for instead of being abated, the Home Rule agitation was stepped up after the passage of the 1881 Irish Land Act.

⁴²Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates CCLXVII (1882), 740.

⁴³J. L. Hammond, op. cit., pp. 215-262, for details of the Land Act of 1881.

⁴⁴Eric Strauss, op. cit., p. 164.

Home Rule for Ireland was not destined to be a nineteenth century realization, however, in spite of two attempts to bring it about. Gladstone himself in time reversed his opposition and became a party to Home Rule. He became impressed with the moderation of Charles Parnell, President of the Irish Land League. Parnell agreed, in the Kilmainham Treaty of 1882, to keep the agrarian agitation under control and to give the Liberal Party full co-operation in stamping out crimes in Ireland. But Parnell pleaded strongly for Home Rule as the only means of pacifying the Irish, and Gladstone acquiesced. Nevertheless the time was not yet. The Home Rule Bills of 1886 and 1893 were defeated. It was not until 1914 that Home Rule was granted to Ireland.

Gladstone's decision to yield to Irish demands for Home Rule after declaring against it, should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness or vacillation. Rather, it shows how far he was willing to go in helping the Irish to get what they wanted for their own peace and happiness. Even before the Kilmainham Treaty, Gladstone was being quietly converted to Home Rule. In 1886, Lord Randolph Churchill, then Leader of the House of Commons, said that he had discovered, through his knowledge of history, that Gladstone had not once again spoken against Home Rule after 1871.⁴⁵ By that time he had sadly come to learn that the Irish Church and Land Acts had done little to appease Irish discontent. The situation was clear. Certainly Gladstone and his colleagues wanted to remove

⁴⁵J. L. Hammond, op. cit., p. 117.

every genuine cause of Irish complaints and to maintain the union between England and Ireland. But Gladstone had become aware of the fact that the Irish had arrived at the conclusion that Home Rule was the only remedy for the ultimate solution of their problems. England had delayed too long.

CHAPTER V

ASSESSMENT

The Irish policy of the First Gladstone Ministry was by no means an unqualified success. That the weaknesses in the Land Act of 1870, and the rejection of the University Bill of 1873, damaged the policy as a whole, cannot be denied. Nevertheless the damage was far from fatal; and the total effect of Gladstone's efforts on behalf of Ireland in these years was clearly positive. The Irish Church Act brought about religious equality, while property was given a new meaning by the Land Act. Furthermore, these first steps proved very helpful to future governments in their endeavours to find answers to the problems of land and education in Ireland.

The Irish Church Act of 1869 was the greatest achievement of all. It hit severely at the roots of Protestant ascendancy; thereby lessening, to no small degree, the unjust subjection of the Irish since the time of Elizabeth. At last, all churches in Ireland so far as the state was concerned were considered on the same level.

It was not uncommon to hear remarks to the effect that the Act was fair, full and honest. Expressive of the general attitude toward the Act was the statement made by Peter MacSwiney as he addressed a meeting of the National Association

in Dublin on 27 July, 1869. MacSwiney referred to the Irish Church Act as the "successful termination of the great struggle in favour of religious equality in Ireland." He continued:

The Bill may not be all that we could have wished, far from it, . . . but Disestablishment is complete. Well, that alone is an enormous gain. . . . Not the least benefit of the many advantages of the Church Bill will be the extinction of that anti-Christian feeling which has for so many generations set Irishmen against Irishmen."¹

Prior to the passage of the Irish Church Act of 1869, there was much talk about justice and equality for Ireland. This, however, seemed mere pretence as great benefits were reserved for one Church and very little for others. These benefits ceased, however, after the first day of January, 1871, when disestablishment became effective. The Act effected a great political, religious and social revolution, terminating the connection between Church and State, and ending the annual grants to Maynooth College and the Presbyterian Church. Thus the principle that "the state must not in future create or endow any denominational institution in Ireland . . . seemed to be finally established by Gladstone's Irish Church Act of 1869."² This showed much thought and skilfulness.

If it took great skill to disestablish the Irish Anglican Church without destroying the Union, it also required great thought to produce a measure which would be fair to all. The Act was by no means one-sided. An honest effort was made

¹Freeman, 28 July, 1869, as quoted by E. R. Norman, The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859 - 1873 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 383.

²T. W. Moody, "The Irish University Question of the Nineteenth Century", in History, XLIII (1958), 100.

to bring about religious equality without bias, i.e. without inflicting undue hardships on the bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church. W. Maziere Brady elaborated on this in an article entitled "Prospects of the Disestablished Church in Ireland." He showed how the provisions of the Act had carefully guarded the interests not only of the Anglican clergymen but also of clerks, sextons, vicars-general, diocesan schoolmasters, registrars, organists, etc.

From January, 1871, tithe-rent charges would no longer be paid to incumbents, but they were compensated by annuities equal to these by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland; and this was to their advantage. Even the Irish Anglican Church laity made an important gain. It is true that they no longer had the funds of the Old Ecclesiastical Commission to depend on for the supply of Bibles, prayer-books, surplices, stoves, mats, etc. But they gained a great privilege and power. They, as well as the bishops and clergy could participate in appointing the representative body which would have control over all the property of the future Church.³

In the process of time the Anglicans themselves, recognizing the wisdom and completeness which characterized the Irish Church Act, accepted and reconciled themselves to the new conditions, which they admitted, had done no permanent harm. In 1869, W. Maziere Brady wrote:

³W. Maziere Brady, "Prospects of the Disestablished Church in Ireland," The Contemporary Review, XII (September-December, 1869), 12.

The Anglican Church in Ireland, although disestablished and disendowed, may become a prosperous institution if it will avoid its previous error of claiming to be the Church of Ireland, an assumption of an ecclesiastical position to which it had no title save by virtue of English legislation.⁴

This hopeful prediction was re-echoed almost half a century later. In 1911, the Anglican Bishop of Limerick addressed the annual synod at Tralee. "When disestablishment came forty years ago," he said, "many thought it would be disastrous to the Church. Who thinks so now?"⁵

In contrast to the sweeping triumph of the Irish Church Act, the Irish Land Act met only mild success. Defects in the Land Act of 1870 were soon noted, and these were later admitted by Gladstone himself who at first believed that the Act had produced the desired results. The Irish tenant had no effective security against being rack-rented, the power of the Court being used to adjust rents in the landlord's favour. Moreover, the tenant failed to obtain the long-sought for security of tenure, and deemed the compensation for disturbance inadequate. The Land Act of 1870 could not be accepted, therefore, as the final solution to the land problem.

The defects of the Land Act need not divert from its merits, however, for while it left some things to be desired it also went a long way towards remedying the land grievance. The Act curtailed the landlord's power of arbitrary eviction,

⁴Ibid., 21.

⁵The ABC Home Rule Handbook, p. 33, as quoted by Edward R. Turner, Ireland and England (New York: The Century Co., 1919), p. 187.

enforced compensation for ejection, and legalized the Ulster tenant-right throughout Ireland. Over the greater part of Ireland where the tenant was hitherto unprotected, eviction was met by a scale of damages, the scale being set up according to the size of holding; and while tenants turned off the land because of failure to pay rent received no payment, all tenants, including those who were discharged for non-payment of rent got compensation for improvements. In all this can be seen a very important precedent; this was the first measure to recognize that not only the owner, but also the occupier had a right in the land. Hence, it laid down the far-reaching principle that "property in land is not absolute and that principle made possible an agrarian revolution in the 1880's."⁶

In consequence, therefore, the Land Act of 1870 became the forerunner of the Land Act of 1881. It has been seen that the amendments to the Land Act of 1870, which were submitted by the Catholic Bishops, but which were refused adoption by Gladstone at that time, formed the basis of the provisions of the Land Act of 1881. These amendments had outlined the principles of perpetuity of tenure and the adjustment of rent by a Land Court. Another amendment of a similar nature, raised by Sir John Gray, in 1870, but resisted by Mr. Gladstone, also anticipated some features of the Land Act of 1881. In 1870, Sir John Gray, a leading Irishman in the House of Commons, suggested a much larger plan embracing fixity of tenure and

⁶ Philip Magnus, Gladstone: A Biography (London: John Murray, 1954), p. 203.

fair rents.⁷ These, together with free sale, constituting the famous "Three F's," were fulfilled in 1881. The Land Act of 1870 had prepared the way for such an accomplishment. In a striking comparison of both Land Acts, Hammond stated that: "the Act of 1870 had checked the process, which, by treating Ireland as if she were an English county had brought her agriculture and her people to ruin," and that "the Act of 1881 was a turning point in her history."⁸

"But why could Gladstone not do in 1870 what he achieved in 1881?" it might be asked. Of course, blame for the shortcomings of the Land Act of 1870 has often wrongly been imputed to a lack of sincere effort or incompetency on the part of the Gladstone Ministry. It was not even for want of facts, as has been charged, that the Act was deficient, for many select committees and royal commissions had been set up from time to time to enquire into the Irish land situation. The reason for the weaknesses of the Land Act lay partly in the balance of parties as well as of social interests in Parliament at the time, partly in Gladstone's impartial sense of justice, and partly in the generally unfavourable climate of English opinion.

Mounting objections to what many regarded as a gross interference with the rights of property had accompanied the introduction of the Land Act of 1870. It must be borne in

⁷Great Britain, 3 Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, CCI (1870), 989.

⁸J. L. Hammond, Gladstone and the Irish Nation (London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964), p. 226.

mind that Gladstone, like any other statesman, found his actions bridled by the sensitivity of the country. And though he became cognizant, particularly after warnings from Manning and the Catholic hierarchy, that the Land Bill had not provided the full answer to the problem, he was unwilling to go any further then. Even the Catholic Bishops, though not fully pleased with the Bill, understood the situation and expressed deep appreciation for what Gladstone had done. Manning, in reply to Gladstone's letter of 16 February, 1870, describing the Land Bill, gave an encouraging report on the feelings of the Bishops:

More than one expressed his sense that you had gone too far to meet the great evils under which the people suffer You have as you said honourably redeemed your pledge; and I look as the Irish bishops do, to you as the statesman whose name will go down to history as the friend of Ireland.⁹

History, while not ignoring the deficiencies of the Land Act, has been unanimous in giving credit where it is due. Justin McCarthy, writing one decade after the Act went into effect, appraised its revolutionary nature:

It recognized a certain ownership on the part of the tenant as well as that of the landlord. . . . It put an end to the reign of the landlord's absolute power; it reduced the landlord to the level of every other proprietor, of every other man in the country who had anything to sell or to hire. It recognized the palpable fact that there are certain conditions which make the ownership of the land a more responsible possession than the ownership of property which admits of limitless expansion. . . . That was in itself a revolution.¹⁰

⁹Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁰Justin McCarthy, A History of Our Own Times (Chicago: Belford, Clark & Co., 1881), IV, 233.

This, McCarthy insisted, was "the general opinion . . . then and since."¹¹

Today, no less favourable opinion is held of the Land Act of 1870. Eighty years after McCarthy wrote, L. P. Curtis Jr., commented in the highest terms on the Irish Church and Land Acts:

Determined to atone for Ireland's "historic wrongs", he [Gladstone] began by disestablishing the Irish Church and ended by providing safeguards for tenants' holdings in the Land Act of 1870. Taken together, these two measures may have alienated churchmen, landlords and the Queen, but they stand as a land-mark in Anglo-Irish relations; and after 1870, no responsible English politician could safely afford to repudiate the precedent set by Gladstone in Irish affairs.¹²

The Irish Church Act of 1869 and the Irish Land Act of 1870 symbolize, therefore, the degree of success which was achieved by the First Gladstone Ministry. Lord Kimberley seemed quite proud of this accomplishment. Looking back on the work of the Gladstone Government, he noted on 21 February, 1874, that in spite of the "mistakes we have made, . . . the disestablishment of the Irish Church," and "the settlement of the Irish land question . . . are titles to fame which cannot be wrested from us."¹³

Most prominent among the "mistakes" alluded to by Kimberley was the disaster of the Irish University Bill of

¹¹Ibid.

¹²L. P. Curtis, Jr., Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, 1880-1892 (Princeton: Princeton University Press), (1963), p. 6.

¹³John, First Earl of Kimberley, A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874, ed. Ethel Drus (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1958), p. 44.

1873. "In fact," he wrote on 5 August, 1873, "we have never recovered from the Irish Education defeat."¹⁴ But while that Bill was a failure from a party point of view, the significance of the step which was taken to solve the problem of higher education in Ireland must not be overlooked. Gladstone expressed his conviction on this when he spoke at a Lord Mayor's dinner within one week after reluctantly returning to office:

We fell in the attempt to emancipate a great historic University in a sister country, . . . and we had sought to make that University the proud and noble inheritance of every son of Ireland, without the smallest reference to his politics, to his party, or to his religious persuasion. Though we may have suffered in that enterprise, I believe, my Lord Mayor, that the principle upon which we have proceeded is indestructible, and will yet make itself felt in the history of this country.¹⁵

The principle to which Gladstone referred here embodied the formation of a National University comprised of affiliated colleges. This was eventually achieved in 1908 and it is not difficult to see that the Irish University Bill of 1873 had acted as the springboard for the subsequent steps that were taken to achieve that goal.

After 1873, the first step toward the final settlement of the University question in Ireland was the passage of the Irish University Bill of 1879 by the Conservatives. The Bill was approved to a large degree by the Catholics who insisted that their students should mix with others of their own faith while getting a University education. This was made possible

¹⁴Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁵"The Irish University Bill and the Defeat of the Ministry," The Quarterly Review, CXXXIV (1873), 552.

by the Bill's proposals to endow the affiliated colleges, providing not only for the payment of their heads or governing bodies and lecturers, but also for the erection, establishment, and maintenance . . . of museums, libraries and laboratories.¹⁶ The majority of endowed colleges were Roman Catholic. The Conservatives had scored this victory by avoiding the stand the Liberals had taken against denominationally endowed colleges. Gladstone's experience had thus provided valuable lessons for Disraeli and the Conservatives.

In a more positive way, however, Gladstone's Irish University Bill of 1873 contributed to the university education settlement of 1879. State supervision of the teaching of secular subjects at the Roman Catholic colleges as well as the state's "entire management and superintendence over the affairs, concerns, and property of the said University,"¹⁷ were features of the abortive Irish University Bill of 1873 which were adopted by the Irish University Act of 1879. So close was the resemblance between them that The Saturday Review remarked that the Act of 1879 "is exactly on a footing with Mr. Gladstone's unfortunate measure."¹⁸ It is worth noting, too, that another of Gladstone's Irish measures, the Irish Church Act of 1869, had influenced the agreement reached on higher education in Ireland in 1879. Clause 21 of the

¹⁶Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, VII (Bill 183), 1879, "A Bill to Make Better Provision for University Education in Ireland," p. 581.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 580.

¹⁸"The Irish University Bill," The Saturday Review, XLVII (May, 1879), 603.

Irish University Act of 1879 stated:

The several provisions of the Irish Church Act, 1869, with respect to the raising of money by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, . . . and with respect to advances to be made by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the said Commissioners of Church Temporalities, . . . shall be extended and shall apply to the purposes of this Act.¹⁹

Consequent to the Irish University Act of 1879 the Royal University of Ireland was chartered. Incorporated in 1880, it was empowered to grant degrees (except in medicine) to all those who had passed the examinations which its senate prescribed, whether they had studied at a university college or not. But neither this nor indeed Disraeli's compromise could satisfy those who stood on either side of denominational education. And this led to finding new avenues for the solution of the university question in Ireland. One of the alternative schemes for a settlement put forward in 1890 by William Walsh, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin (1885-1921), and which was accepted by the Catholics, was "one state-recognized university embracing all colleges fulfilling certain educational conditions (the Gladstone plan)."²⁰ Up to this time, therefore, the Catholics still saw wisdom in Gladstone's scheme.

Within two decades the university education problem was finally settled. By royal charter two new institutions

¹⁹Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. VII (Bill 183), 1879, "A Bill to Make Better Provision for University Education in Ireland," p. 583.

²⁰T. W. Moody, "The Irish University Question of the Nineteenth Century," in History, XLIII (1958), 103.

the National University of Ireland in Dublin for Catholics, and the Queen's University at Belfast for Protestants, were created to replace the Royal University. This was the end of the chain of actions and reactions that were set off by the Irish University Bill of 1873. In this sense, the Bill was not without merit. Despite its failure it represented a major step toward the solution of the Irish University education question in particular, and of the whole set of Irish grievances in general. For the university education problem was one of the main grievances of the whole Irish question.

That question could not be solved at a single stroke. Gladstone had only tapped it. His Irish policy was carried out under the most unfavourable conditions. He fell short of his goal of seeing the Irish problem resolved by a plan which would bring self-respect to Ireland and security to England. But he had done his best and could rejoice in a measure of success; and let not that degree of success be minimized. Indeed, filled with a sense of justice, Gladstone displayed a character of superb magnanimity of which history can hardly afford a greater example. Like Francis Bacon, he seemed to say, "What man will not do for the better, time will do for the worse." In 1868, he reckoned that it was full time to do something positive and constructive about the Irish problem. He tackled this seemingly insuperable task with might and main. Whatever might have been the failure of the Irish policy need not be attributed to the weakness of the First Gladstone Ministry or even to the usual manoeuvres of party struggle. But in a deeper, fuller sense, it must be

attributed to the great difficulty which underlay England's governance of Ireland.

It must have been a deep sense of pride and satisfaction that made Lord Kimberley state in his final note on 21 February, 1874: "I think our worst enemies must admit that the Gladstone Ministry will fill a not unimportant page in English history."²¹ The apt appraisal of Gladstone by The Edinburgh Review is also worthy of no little consideration:

A more practical man of the world might have made fewer mistakes; but no mere man of the world would have risen to the height at which Mr. Gladstone has trod, or would have attempted the great [Irish] measures which he has triumphantly achieved. In after times his career will shine forth conspicuously illuminated with the light of genius. ²²

²¹Kimberley, op. cit., p. 44.

²²"The Claims of Whig Government," The Edinburgh Review, CXXXVII (April, 1873), 582.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

- Great Britain. Parliamentary Debates. Vol. LXXXII (1800).
- Great Britain. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (Third Series). Vols. CLXXI (1863), CLXXVII - CLXXX (1865), CXCI-CCXIV (1868 - 1873), and CCLVII (1882).
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XIX (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. VI), [605], February, 1845. "Reports from Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Law and Practice in Respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXII. Part I (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. V). [2336-I], February, 1858. "Endowed Schools, Ireland, Commission."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXVI. Part I (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. IV). [2706]. August, 1860. "The Twenty-Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (for the year 1859)."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. LV (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVII). (84). March, 1866. "Memorials addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Roman Catholic Prelates in Ireland on the Subject of University and National Education in Ireland and of the Correspondence relating thereof."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XIV (Report by Select Committee, Vol. VIII). (518). August, 1867. "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Tenure (Ireland) Bill."

- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXIV (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV). (161). March, 1868. "Declaration of the Roman Catholic Laity of Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXIV (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. IX). [4082]. July, 1868. "Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church in Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XLIX (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XVI). (27). February, 1869. "Minutes of Evidence taken at the Drogheda Election Petition."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. III (Bill 27). March, 1869. "A Bill to put an end to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland and to make Provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and in respect of the Royal College of Maynooth. "
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XIV (Reports from Commissioners. Vol. III). C. 31. January, 1870. "Reports from Poor Law Inspectors in Ireland as to the Existing Relations between Landlord and Tenant in respect of Improvements on Farms, Drainage, Reclamation of Land, Fencing, Planting, &."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. II (Bill 29). February, 1870. "A Bill to Amend the Law relating to the Occupation and Ownership of land in Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXXII (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. XXI). C. 48. March, 1870. "Report of Commissioners on Corrupt Practices at the Last Sligo Election."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. LIV (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV). (140). March, 1870. "Declaration of the Catholic Laity of Ireland on the Subject of University Education in that Country."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XXVIII, Part I (Reports from Commissioners, Vol. XVII). C. 6. May, 1870. "Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland)."

- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. II (Bill 222). July, 1870. "A Bill to Amend the Act of the First and Second years of His late Majesty King William the Fourth, chapter thirty-three in part, and to afford facilities for obtaining loans for the erection, enlargement, and improvement of Glebe Houses and for the acquirements of lands for Glebes in Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. XLVIII (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIII). (241-I). June, 1872. "The Galway Election: Judgment, Report and Evidence."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. VI (Bill 55). February, 1873. "A Bill for the Extension of University Education in Ireland."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. LII (Accounts and Papers, Vol. XIV). (115). March, 1873. "Resolutions of the Standing Committee (on Trinity College) of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church on the Subject of the Irish University Bill."
- Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers. Vol. VII (Bill 183). May, 1879. "A Bill to Make Better Provision for University Education in Ireland."

2. PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS OF PRIVATE LETTERS AND DIARIES

- Buckle, George Earle (ed.) The Letter of Queen Victoria, 1862-1878. Second Series. 2 vols. London: John Muray, 1926.
- Guedalla, Philip. The Queen and Mr. Gladstone, 1845-1879. 2 vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Limited, 1933.
- Kimberley, John, First Earl of. A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry, 1868-1874. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1958.
- Lathbury, D. C. (ed.) Correspondence on Church and Religion of William Ewart Gladstone. 2 Vols. London: John Murray, 1910.
- Ramm, Agatha (ed.) The Political Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, 1868-1876. 2 Vols. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1952.

3. CONTEMPORARY PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

The Annual Register. 1868, 1869, 1870, 1873.

Brady, W. Maziere. "The Irish Establishment under Papal and Protestant Princes," The Contemporary Review. IX (Sept.-Dec., 1868). 1-36.

Brady, W. Maziere. "Prospects of the Disestablished Church in Ireland," Ibid. XII (Sept.-Dec., 1869). 1-24.

"The Claims of Whig Government," The Edinburgh Review. CXXXVII (April, 1873), 569-586.

"The Education Question in Ireland," The Saturday Review. XXVIII (September, 1869). 340-341.

"Mr. Gladstone and Disestablishment," Blackwood's Magazine. CV (February, 1869). 238-252.

"The Irish Church," The Saturday Review. XXVI (July, 1868). 5-6.

"Irish Federalism," The Edinburgh Review. CXXXIII (April, 1871). 511-529.

"The Irish Land Question," The Saturday Review. XXVII (August and October, 1869). 235-236 and 527-528.

"The Irish University Bill (1873)," Ibid. XXXV (March, 1873). 264-265.

"The Irish University Bill (1879)," Ibid. XLVII (May, 1879). 603-604.

"The Irish University Bill (1873), and the Defeat of the Ministry," The Quarterly Review. CXXXIV (Jan. and Apr., 1873). 552-579.

"The Irish University Debate," The Saturday Review. XXXV (March 1873), 301-302.

"The Land Question in Ireland," Blackwood's Magazine. CVI (November, 1869), 563-579.

"The Late Attempt at Suicide," Ibid. CXIII (April, 1873). 484-504.

"The Lords and the Irish Land Bill," Ibid. CVIII (July, 1870). 118-128.

"The Ministry and University Education in Ireland," The Quarterly Review. CXXXIV (January and April, 1873), 255-287.

The Nation. (Dublin). IX (September, 1869). 242.

Ibid. (Dublin) X (April and May, 1870). 265 and 297.

"Our State and Prospects," Blackwood's Magazine. CXIII
(February, 1873). 235-254.

The Times (London). 1868-1870.

4. WORKS BY CONTEMPORARIES

Lawless, Emily. Ireland. London: T. Fisher Unwin (1887).

McCarthy, Justin. A History of Our Own Times. 4 Vols.
Chicago: Belford, Clark and Co., 1881.

Molesworth, William. History of England from 1830-1874.
Abridged edition. London: Chapman and Hall
Limited, 1889.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. BIOGRAPHIES

Magnus, Philip. Gladstone: A Biography. London: John Murray,
1954.

Monnypenny, William, and Buckle, George. The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. 6 Vols. London:
John Murray, 1910 - 1920.

Morley, John. The Life of William Ewart Gladstone. 2 Vols.
London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1922.

Trevelyan, George M. The Life of John Bright. New Edition.
London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1925.

2. GENERAL HISTORIES AND SPECIAL SUBJECTS

Barker, Ernest. Ireland in the Last Fifty Years, 1866-1918.
Second and enlarged edition. Oxford: At the Clarendon
Press, 1919.

Curtis, Jr. Lewis. Coercion and Conciliation in Ireland, 1880-1892. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University
Press, 1963.

- Hammond, John L. Gladstone and the Irish Nation. New impression. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1964.
- Hanham, H. J. Elections and Party Management: Politics in the Time of Disraeli and Gladstone. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1959.
- Hardie, Frank. The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1963.
- Moody, T. W. "The Irish University Question of the Nineteenth Century," in History. XLIII. No. 148 (June, 1958). 90-109.
- Norman, Edward R. The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859-1873. London: Longmans, 1965.
- O'Donnell, Frank Hugh. A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party. 2 Vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1910.
- Paul, Herbert. A History of Modern England. 5 Vols. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1904-1906.
- Southgate, Donald. The Passing of the Whigs, 1832-1886. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1962.
- Strauss, Eric. Irish Nationalism and British Democracy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
- Thornley, David. Isaac Butt and Home Rule. London: Macgibbon and Kee, 1964.
- Turner, Edward Raymond. Ireland and England in the Past and at Present. New York: The Century Co., 1919.
- Walpole, Sir Spencer. The History of Twenty-five Years, 1856-1880. 4 Vols. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904-1908.

B29856